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## New York's Transit Merger.\*

By BIRD S. COLER,  
BOROUGH PRESIDENT OF BROOKLYN.

**T**HE City of New York is the wealthiest and most powerful corporation in the United States. It has more wealth and is more powerful than the Standard Oil Company, than the Steel Trust, than the Beef Trust, than the Pennsylvania Railroad, than the Metropolitan Street Railroad, or the Interborough Railroad. Yet because the two concerns last named have joined hands the City of New York is now on the verge of hysteria, like some brawny but bashful spinster who yelps in terror at the sight of a mouse. Her officials seem to be in a state of great perplexity. Their brows are puckered, their lamentations are loud, they are now pleading with the State Legislature to do nothing which might anger the puny traction kings who are holding up the city with a toy pistol. They cry to the lawmakers at Albany, "Do not give us legal authority to build transportation lines of our own. It will only make Mr. Ryan and Mr. Belmont resentful, and the city is too poor to improve its transportation system without their aid."

New York City too poor! Too poor, with its wonderful natural advantages, with its treasure of docks and public buildings and water works, with its tax-paying millions? Too poor—why, one might think they were talking of some country hamlet of a hundred houses. Heaven give them more sense and teach them the worldly wisdom of a stiff upper lip!

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The traction situation in the City of New York is a natural development of the times, the inevitable fruit of our system. It is the handiwork of master manipulators, financial engineers who calculate upon immaterial quantities precisely as civil engineers calculate upon material forces. These financial engineers in the City of New York have linked line to line, welded system to system, bound combination to combination, and have at last builded this famous "merger," compounding it of public need, of the customs of the people, of the laws of trade and transportation, of legislative enactments shaped to their purposes as mechanics shape the beams and trusses of a skyscraper, buttressing their structure with the venality or the fears of public servants. They have computed with care all the stresses and tensions, and they believe what they have builded will weather any storm. Now they stand upon its battlements and arrogantly boast of the city's helplessness, threatening, as did Mr. Belmont recently, to bid upon no more subway contracts if the Elsberg bill shall become a law.

It seems to me, however, that those engineers of the "merger" have underestimated the strength of the stream now fuming and foaming against their outworks. They know, of course, that there is clamor, that there is agitation of the great sea-like mind of all the people, but they fail to appraise these signs and tokens at their real value. They have not realized that they are being buffeted by a movement which has grown and gathered strength of the years, and before whose torrential sweep this work of their hands will surely crumble and vanish. For here and now elemental forces are in motion, and there is rising a tide which for good or evil will rinse the land. I have heard of men who, blind to the signs and deaf to the sounds of the day of wrath, still build for destruction; I have heard of others who dream of riding to power astride of the torrent. Both are ridiculous. This thing that has overturned systems all over the country takes no heed of individuals. It may carry a man an hour or a day upon its crest, but he rides on a perilous perch, and the Lord knows when or whither the head of the flood will fling him. Not who is doing, but what is done is of importance.

This is a digression to some extent, but its relation to traction conditions of New York is intimate. The underlying cause of our trouble is the exploitation of the public by individuals; the remedy, fresh branded approved-of public sentiment, in line with modern thought, and obvious to all but the willfully blind, is municipal control and, where necessary, operation. Not a wholesale condemnation of all the traction lines of the city, with their inflated capitalization and their aged and rickety equipment; that, indeed, would be foolish, but the ownership of modern lines newly constructed and equipped,

or enough of them to introduce into the situation and hold there by force the competitive principle.

For, mark you, this municipal ownership movement that has been damned as rank socialism, has no care for doctrinaire definition and looks not for metaphysical playthings, but for results. Its philosophy is simple and intensely practical. If competition will be the cause and good and adequate service the result, it will use competition; if co-operation will effect the desired reform, then we are for co-operation. And in this case the thing to do is employ both compensating forces and get the transportation conditions the people want.

This is what should be done and what will be done in our city. What has been done is a different story. New York has always suffered from an evil system of transportation. The financiers have used it for the purpose of changing paper into money for many a year. It has been querulous, but not very often violent. When violent it has been easily pacified by a promise of reform.

The rapid transit act in its original form was a sedative. It has since become an irritant, but its first purpose was to soothe. At the dawn of the last decade of the old century there was a popular convulsion and a demand for something substantial. The result was the Rapid Transit Commission and the referendum of 1894. I remember how joyfully the people voted to own their own subways, while the cry "To Harlem in Fifteen Minutes" made merry music all over the town. It has taken us some years to realize that the referendum of 1894 was the greatest humbug which the people of New York ever swallowed. The people voted to own their subways and they own them now, having been permitted to pay for them, but prevented by law from doing anything with them except surrender them to the use and control of the corporations who were paid by the city to build them. All the essentials of ownership are with the corporation, except the cost and responsibility.

The Rapid Transit Commission we still have with us, alas! It is worth a few minutes' consideration. In all human history there was never before anything like it, nor is it probable that there ever will be again. Its members were appointed by name by the Legislature, given the power to fill all vacancies in their board, burdened with responsibility to no one, but empowered to expend the city's treasure. Thus constituted and clothed with power the board is a hybrid, hobgoblin sort of governmental functionary, admirably suited to the purposes of the traction interests, but neither possessing nor desiring power to help the city. The commissioners are all gentlemen of a smoke-dried respectability, but when they think it hurts them. Therefore, they employ en-

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gineers and counsel to do their thinking. One of the counsel has for years acted both as legal adviser to the commission and legal adviser to the Pennsylvania Railroad. Another, one of our most distinguished citizens, for whom personally I entertain the utmost esteem, but whose system of professional ethics is too subtle for my coarser comprehension, recently resigned his office as adviser to the commission to accept an annual salary as general counsel to the same Pennsylvania Railroad. The chief engineer of the board for years has also changed clients; he was formerly for the city, he is now for the "merger."

I do not mean to even hint at anything corrupt in all this. The professional men to whom I refer are gentlemen of a keen sense of personal honor, and the commissioners are as incorruptible as mummies. But the result is just the same. The good old gentlemen on the board, each of them burdened by half a dozen other big business responsibilities, have become so accustomed to letting the gentlemen now employed by the transportation interests think for them, that they cannot break themselves of the habit. So it comes about that when the city, solicited by the Pennsylvania Railroad for a valuable franchise, intimates that it will write into the contract that the railroad shall cease to discriminate against this port in the matter of freight rates, Mr. Shepard, former legal adviser to the board and now general counsel to the Pennsylvania, *thinks* and the Rapid Transit Commission immediately *says* that such a stipulation would be a usurpation of the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

This Rapid Transit Board, being so admirable an institution from the corporation viewpoint, has been made by the Legislature the repository of power over all the transportation systems of the city. Underground and overhead, in the streets and on the bridges, the commission is lord over all. It has not helped, but absolutely checked the growth of the city. When it gave out its first franchise, it loaded the contractor with gifts, as if he had done New York a favor of the first magnitude. It proclaimed him as "The Only Bidder," and he was, because the board then, as now, regarded municipal ownership as too socialistic a proposition for nice persons to mention even, and the city was left helpless at the mercy of the corporations.

Having found a bidder, the commission determined to cling to him. They opposed any idea of letting in competition. Mayor Low in one of the annual reports of the commission announces with smug assurance that there can be no other subway builder, and says the city may as well recognize that fact.

The pie was too tempting for other fingers, however, and the poor old

board found that Mr. Ryan was inclined to share the plums with Mr. Belmont. The public thought the introduction of a new bidder quite an excellent idea, and the clamor for subways arose from all sections. This added to the perplexity of the commissioners. Deary me, was there ever such a problem? Mr. Ryan and Mr. Belmont would not build all the subways so vociferously demanded by this thoughtless, noisy, vulgar public. Whatever would they do?

They considered the matter a long time, and then arrived at a characteristic solution. They laid out every subway route suggested, and announced that the Ryan interests and the Belmont interests could choose from among them all the lines upon which they might desire to bid.

There was something going on underneath the surface all the time. The prospect of competition pleased neither Mr. Ryan nor Mr. Belmont. Competition meant that two cars might run where one would be sufficient—from the corporation viewpoint. So the two interests got together, and so the dear old aunties of the commission were shocked again. For, having settled their differences, the traction interests proposed to economize in the matter of subways.

The recognition of this fact by the public was immediate. The events of the last few years, the news of great combinations of capital, of investigations and the revelations of Mr. Lawson have taught the people to think in millions, and they read unerringly the story told in the capitalization of \$425,000,000, of which \$108,000,000 represented the value to the financial engineers of their future discomfort and inconvenience. They knew that to give value to this issue of stock they would have to hang on to straps in overcrowded cars for many a weary year.

The "merger" masters, Mr. Ryan and Mr. Belmont, and their allies have made an arrangement so scientific that it compels admiration. They have a working agreement with all possible competitors—but one. The Pennsylvania Company is to take control of the New Jersey lines, the Ryan and Belmont of the Manhattan and Bronx territory, and Brooklyn, my own borough, is to be left to the tender mercies of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit. I said all possible competitors—but one. The exception is the City of New York.

There are bills now in the Legislature to enable the city to own and operate its roads, and thus introduce again the competitive element. These bills are now the target of the traction interests. Their defeat is vital to this "merger," their adoption vital to the city's proper development. The popular sentiment of the city is rallying in support of them. The "merger" interests are already attacking, and true to its traditions, the Rapid Transit Board is in the ranks of the opposition.

## Some Recollections of Old Galway Life.

(From *Blackwood's Magazine*.)

**T**HE most exciting times that were witnessed in the old "Citie of the Tribes" were when an election was in progress. The court-house in Galway was the only polling place, not only for the borough of Galway, but also for the county, and the voters had to be transported thither from the most distant and inaccessible parts of that extensive region. A county election, therefore, commonly lasted six weeks, and during all that time the town was in a turmoil. Skirmishes and encounters took place at every street corner, and troops of dragoons galloped up and down dispersing riotous mobs. Special distinction was won on these occasions by the men of the Claddagh—the quarter of Galway which has been inhabited for centuries by the descendants of the Spanish colonists who settled there in Elizabethan days, when much trade was carried on between Galway and Spain.

Though fallen from their old estate of merchant adventurers to be no more than a race of fishermen, the men of the Claddagh retained no little of Spanish arrogance and pride of bearing, together with their unmistakable Southern mien. They held scornfully aloof from their Irish neighbors, suffering no stranger to dwell within their gates, governed there according to their own customs by a sovereign of their own election, and marrying only with those of their own clan. In the days of which I speak they wore their distinctive dress, too, and turned out in full force on election days, the men wearing coats and waistcoats of bright blue frieze, adorned with large white buttons, knee breeches of the same, tied at the knees with blue

ribbons, and stockings of blue worsted. What was of more consequence than their dress, they came out armed with slings, with which they hurled stones with an accuracy of aim that made it perilous for any voter on the side opposed to theirs to venture across the street. Round the court-house itself the wildest scenes took place, one side endeavoring to convoy its supporters inside the building, the other dragging them out again by force—sticks were whirled, yells and imprecations resounded on all sides, and every now and again a sudden charge of cavalry scattered the combatants like chaff before the wind.

The rival candidates were always two gentlemen of the county belonging to the different camps of Whig and Tory, as those distinctions were then understood, and their friends and neighbors took sides according to their opinions and proclivities. The political opinions of a Galway landlord were of some importance in those days, when he brought all his tenants and retainers with him to the poll to swell the votes on his side. I well remember seeing my grandfather ride forth from our house at the head of a troop of voters eighty strong, mounted on cart horses, on mares with foals running beside them, and on mountain colts with unkempt manes and fetlocks.

It was said that sometimes when landlords suspected their tenants of not following them with a whole heart they rode at the heels, instead of at the head, of their forces, to flick the steeds of unwilling voters along the road. Such cases were, however, I think, of not very frequent occurrence, as in general the tenants made the landlord's cause their own. Whig and Tory were words of unknown

import to them; but they flourished their blackthorns and broke each other's heads with as much zest and goodwill as if they had been engaged in a faction fight of their own.

In return for the support which the tenants gave their landlords at election times the latter were expected to stand by them if by ill chance they should find themselves in any trouble which involved a compulsory appearance before the bench of magistrates at petty sessions, or even before judge and jury at the assizes. Of one friend and neighbor of ours it was confidently asserted by his dependants, "If a man was on the gallows itself, the master would get him down."

Our kinsmen, the Martins, of Ballynahinch, father and son, Whigs both of them, sat for the County Galway for upwards of fifty years, from before the Union till the time of the great famine. Their seat was fiercely assailed at each contest, but they always emerged triumphant from the contest. The elder Martin was that Col. Richard Martin, better known by his sobriquet of "Humanity Dick," of whom many stories are still current in Galway. He was noted for two seemingly irreconcilable qualities, his great goodness of heart—specially displayed in his love for animals—and his readiness to fight duels.

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Our political proclivities were not the same as those of our Connemara kinsfolk. They were Whigs, while our branch of the family had always been consistently Tory, and held the claims of party as stronger than those of kindred. Such ardent politicians indeed were we all, that I can recall the entire family, grown-ups as well as children, standing in a row on our hall-door steps, vehemently shaking our fists in the direction in which we imagined London to lie, as a defiance to Lord Melbourne and his Whig government. Except, however, in the very heat and stress of election time, these differences of opinion had no effect on our friendly footing with our relatives; and indeed when once an election was over, it was wonderful how

quickly all the animosities it had aroused were forgotten, and good fellowship once more reigned throughout the country.

It must have been at the last election which Thomas Martin contested before his death in 1847 that very confident hopes were entertained by the Tories of unseating him and his Whig colleague, and of returning two Tories in their places. A relative of ours, who had a house in the town, and whose views were the same as our own, threw herself heart and soul into the fray. Her house was decked from top to bottom with true-blue Tory streamers. Regardless of mobs and riots, she drove herself every day about the streets in her pony carriage, her ponies' heads and her own bonnet decked with Tory favors—and ladies' bonnets in those days afforded ample space for the display of party colors. Moreover, she prepared a sumptuous repast, and somewhat rashly proclaimed that she would therewith regale "the sitting members for Galway" after their victory. The last day of the poll came; but, alas! when the count-up was complete, the Whigs were found to be once more in the ascendant. A very dispirited and dejected knot of county politicians had gathered in our relative's house that night, when there was a resounding knock at the door, and Thomas Martin and his brother Whig member walked in.

"We're the sitting members for Galway," they said, "and we've come to eat your dinner."

And so they did; and a right merry party they were, though the rest of the company consisted of those who had done their utmost to prevent the return of those particular "sitting members."

The elections for the borough of Galway, though they did not last as long as those for the county, were not less hotly contested. At one of the earliest which I can recall, the rival candidates were a young Mr. Monaghan, a Dublin barrister—or counsellor, as they were more commonly styled in those days—who subsequently rose to be Chief Justice on the Irish Bench. His opponent



was Sir Valentine Blake, of Menlo Castle. Sir Valentine was at that time in a predicament not altogether unknown to other Irish gentlemen of large landed estate. He was what was known as a "Sunday boy"; in other words, owing to financial embarrassments, he was unable to appear abroad except upon the Sabbath, and had to spend the other six days of the week straitly shut up within the walls of his dwelling. A member of Parliament, however, could not be arrested for debt, which, amongst other reasons, made it exceedingly desirable that Sir Valentine should become member for Galway town, as he would thereby be delivered from his present thralldom. The contest was a very close one, and was fought as elections were fought in those days. The body of the court-house, where on ordinary occasions judges, juries, and lawyers carried on their functions, was packed throughout the day with a wildly excited crowd of men, half-naked, wholly drunk, and fighting ferociously for not one of them could have told what. Amidst this indescribable din a local orator, one Mark Lynch, stood up to make an impassioned appeal on Sir Valentine's behalf.

"Citizens of Galway!" he shouted, "will you suffer yourselves to be represented by this counsellor from Dublin—a stranger brought here by his hirelings? Will you leave Sir Valentine to pine in his seclusion at Menlo? Or will you bid the counsellor begone whence he came, and make Sir Valentine by your votes a free man this day?"

Mark Lynch's eloquence prevailed, and Sir Valentine was returned at the head of the poll. Sir Valentine himself, whilst the election was proceeding, was out upon Lough Corrib in a boat, where he was safe from arrest, as a writ could only be executed on terra firma. His victory was made known to him by the frantic crowds rushing to the water side to hail the newly elected member, whereupon the boat was speedily pulled ashore, and Sir Valentine was chaired and carried in triumph through the streets of Galway on the shoulders of his supporters. \* \* \*

Thomas Martin's manner of ruling his household was patriarchal, nor did he hesitate to administer personal chastisement where he deemed it requisite. Latterly, when his eyesight had failed somewhat and his great size rendered him inactive, the offending page boys and footmen fleeing before his wrath used to dive into a dark recess under the stairs, where a bag stuffed with wool had been cunningly fastened to a central post. Thomas Martin, probing in the dark with his stick, used to encounter this body and to belabor it vigorously, whilst the culprit for whom the correction was intended lurked motionless in the darkest corner of the recess.

One of my sisters being on a visit to Ballynahinch, and having come down late for breakfast, her host inquired if her coffee was hot.

"It is very nice," she answered evasively.

"Is it boiling?" he demanded.

"Well, no, not quite boiling," she was forced to admit.

Thomas Martin rang the bell violently. Two page-boys appeared in answer to the summons, whom he immediately seized by the napes of their necks and knocked their heads together.

"How dare you not have boiling coffee for Miss Martin?" he roared.

It was on the occasion of this same visit that Mary Martin, his only child, who should have inherited his vast territories, and inherited only the ruin and desolation which the famine brought, took my sister to the top of the mountain that overhangs Ballynahinch, and bade her look round her, telling her that all she could see to the coast line and the farthest verge of the horizon was her father's and hers.

Great must have been the contrast in after years when that hospitable mansion lay waste and abandoned, and some disappointed traveller, aggrieved at finding but cold comfort where once good cheer and abundance had reigned, thus gave bitter vent to his feelings—

At last we arrived at famed Ballynahinch,  
By the powers, you'd think it was besieged by  
the Frinch;  
The demesne without fence, the chateau without  
slate,  
And devil the morsel save screech owls to ate.

## Latin America and the United States.

By "INVESTOR."

(From the Monthly Review.)

**A**S the direct outcome of the Spanish-American war Cuba gained her independence under the guardianship of the United States, and the latter acquired the mastery over Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. But indirectly, the effect in the United States of this conflict between a young and strong republic and an old and weak monarchy was perhaps more important and far-reaching. Until then American attention had been almost exclusively fixed upon internal development. Occasionally, it is true, the United States intervened abroad on the ground of maintaining the Monroe doctrine—as in the Venezuela boundary case. Nevertheless, foreign affairs occupied a secondary place; a traditional attitude of aloofness being observed with regard to everything not covered by the Stars and Stripes.

Latterly, however, the political horizon in the United States has widened, and the acquisition of dependencies—they can scarcely be called colonies—and the need of opening up new markets have led to the growth of interest in external relations. A consciousness of power and a wish to be recognized as a serious factor in international affairs have ensued. And these have generated a desire for a strong and forward policy. President Roosevelt played a leading part in the war with Spain, and since he assumed office the expansionist movement has become more accentuated. To what extent the great ad-

vance which it has made is due to the personality of the President himself, to his popularity fostered by the success attending his efforts, it would at present be difficult to say. Unquestionably many of his fellow citizens are opposed to his policy. They regard it as of too imperialistic a nature to serve the best interests of their country. In at least one important instance the Senate and the Executive have recently been at variance. Prominent politicians have maintained that the latter is inclined to encroach upon the prerogatives of the former. It is therefore possible that at the close of Mr. Roosevelt's term of office a reaction may take place. For the moment, however, the impulse to bring American influence into play abroad appears to be irresistible.

Mr. Roosevelt, by nature a leader of men, seems to aspire to become a leader of nations. Under his aegis the negotiations terminating the greatest war of modern times have been brought to a successful issue. The views of his administration on subjects quite unconnected with the Western hemisphere are listened to with respect by the Powers more closely concerned. Whilst, in matters relating to the American continents, it may be said that they are received not only with respect but with deference.

Among the numerous illustrations of the profound change to which reference has been made, perhaps not the least remarkable is the increasing activity displayed by the United States with regard

to the affairs of some of their more immediate neighbors in what is sometimes called "Latin America." The most striking evidence of this activity lies in the new interpretation which has been put upon the Monroe Doctrine. For the last eighty-two years this doctrine has formed the basis of the policy of the United States concerning relations between European nations and the other trans-oceanic republics. So much has been written about it that any discussion of its merits would be beside the mark. For better or for worse, its existence has not only long been an undeniable fact, but its general scope and meaning have been recognized *de facto* if not *de jure* by European Powers. Until quite recently it ranked purely and simply as an embodiment of the principle of "America for the Americans;" of the formation of a gigantic "reservation," consisting of the greater part of two continents into which outsiders were not to be allowed to intrude. It has remained for President Roosevelt to convert the Monroe Doctrine from a mere weapon of defense into—at any rate in theory—a two-edged sword.

The most salient passage in President Monroe's original dictum, delivered in 1823, runs as follows:

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration or just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Now, let this be compared with one of the most concise of President Roosevelt's numerous pronouncements on the subject which occurs in a speech made at Chautauqua on August 11 last:

"We cannot, however, permanently adhere to the Monroe Doctrine unless we succeed in making it evident that we do not intend it as an excuse for the ag-

grandizement of the United States at the expense of the republics of South America, and that we will not permit it to be used by any of these republics as a shield to protect them from the consequences of their own misdeeds against foreign nations. Inasmuch as America will prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the waters, it shall in good faith try to help the sister republics which need such help upwards toward peace and order."

The underlying principle contained in the last extract, the unselfish desire to lead sister republics into the paths of righteousness and financial probity, had frequently before been voiced by the President, and formed the "leit-motiv" of his lengthy message to the Senate regarding the Santo Domingo Protocol. It has since, both during his late tour through the Southern States and in his recent message to Congress, been reiterated in somewhat more peremptory language. But the point to which it is desired to draw special attention here is the fundamental difference between the original exposition of the Monroe Doctrine and its present amended form. The first is purely negative. It amounts to a "Thou shalt not," addressed to all and sundry whom it may concern. In the second this "Thou shalt not" is qualified. It admits that there may be, indeed are, wrongs to be righted, and that opportunities for philanthropic intervention exist. But it asserts that the United States must be the sole arbiter between plaintiff and defendant, must be left to judge at what moment intervention is desirable, and shall alone play the part of mentor. How far, in one or two instances, practice has hitherto been in agreement with precept will be shown hereafter.

The Latin American Republics may roughly be divided into three categories. Those belonging to the first, viz., Argentina, Brazil, Chili, and Mexico, stand in some respects on a totally different level to their fellows. They have apparently reached the second stage of development, a stage in which chronic political disturbance is a thing of the past and vested interests form a powerful bulwark for

law and order. There seems no reason to doubt the honesty of their intentions, and it is probable that they would resent as unjustifiable interference anything in the shape of United States' "protection" or control.

In the second category are Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. These have latterly shown signs, in a greater or lesser degree, of a progressive spirit, though the last two have both quite recently experienced the throes of civil war, and it is to be feared that the political atmosphere in Uruguay is not as cloudless as could be desired.

The third category consists of the turbulent Central American quintet, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador—though foreigners have latterly had little open cause for complaint against Salvador and Nicaragua—and of Colombia, Venezuela, and Santo Domingo, all of which have given the State Department at Washington much food for thought during the last couple of years.

The combined area of these eight countries is somewhere about ten times that of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, their population is, roughly speaking, rather less than double that of Greater London. Their revenues are mainly derived from customs duties and monopolies (direct taxation being so unproductive as to be practically non-existent), and probably do not together exceed a total of from seven to eight millions sterling per annum, or a little over twice that of Greece, one of the smallest and poorest of European countries. Most of them, like Turkey, lead a hand-to-mouth existence, hypothecating the resources of to-morrow to meet the requirements of to-day, among which the "Department of War" always holds an important place. Yet they embrace, both from an agricultural and from a mineralogical point of view, some of the richest portions of the earth's surface.

The regeneration of Mexico by Porfirio Diaz has shown what can be accomplished in one generation in a Spanish American State. There can be no doubt that under an equally stable form of

government the minor republics would also prosper. With the help of foreign capital, which—were local conditions other than they are—might find remunerative employment within their boundaries, the development of their great latent resources would proceed apace.

Unfortunately, however, their ruling classes, which in many cases spring from a stock possessing a large admixture of Indian blood, usually seek their own advantage rather than the well-being of their countries. Indeed, since they obtained their independence, the Government in all of these republics has, with rare exceptions, been in the hands of a succession of tyrannical Dictators who, claiming to be the apostles of freedom, have committed unspeakable horrors in its name. Each of these despots has maintained his hold upon the country which he misgoverned by terrorism, only as a rule to be overthrown sooner or later by some other equally unworthy aspirant to absolute power. Thus blood has been shed and treasure wasted in almost uninterrupted fratricidal strife.

If to this be added the long tale of more or less fraudulent borrowing and the small regard shown for the rights and interests of foreigners, it is not surprising that these States should be regarded as only semi-civilized; that foreign capitalists should be apt to fight shy of ventures within their borders, and that dealings in their external debts should rank not merely as speculation, but as sheer gambling.

Setting aside the effects of such artificial maintenance of credit as has for the last year or more been practised with regard to Russian bonds, one of the best means of gauging the status of a country is its reputation in the money markets of the world. This is indicated by the rate at which it can borrow and by the stock exchange quotation of its State securities. And in all countries where civilization has made sufficient strides for the value of credit to be appreciated, the service of the National debt is deemed the most sacred of obligations. In the case of nearly all the republics under consideration it may safely be asserted

that, except in the form of private advances at usurious rates, their borrowing powers are practically nil, whilst the low average price and violent fluctuations in the value of their bonds shows how little confidence is felt in their ability—not to say their desire—to pay their way.

The foreign loans originally contracted by these countries (with the solitary exception of Santo Domingo) were negotiated to aid them in winning their independence. During the sixties and early seventies of the last century, however, when Russia, Turkey and Egypt were engaged in issuing what a witty Frenchman has styled "*les emprunts à jet continu*," certain of the smaller Spanish American States also appeared in the European markets as borrowers on what was for them a large scale and at high rates. But the golden dream of those who acquired their securities was not enduring.

The crash soon came, and the evidence given at a Parliamentary inquiry held in London in 1875, revealed not only that the issue of these loans formed a dark page in international finance, but also that the countries in whose names they were contracted were sinned against as well as sinning. Anything like a historical survey of the numerous conversions, unifications, consolidations and more especially reductions, to which the external debts of the minor Latin American Republics have been subjected, could not fail to weary the reader.

But it may be of interest to state that the foreign debt of Colombia has been in existence for eighty-three years, during approximately forty-seven of which no interest was paid; the corresponding figures for Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela being respectively seventy-eight and forty-eight, seventy-eight and seventy-two, and eighty-three and forty-one. Costa Rica and Nicaragua have benefited by intervals during which they owed nothing to the foreign bondholder. Nevertheless the external debt of the first has been in default for some thirty years out of the forty-seven which represented its total existence, while Nicaragua paid nothing for forty-nine years out of

sixty-six. Salvador neglected her share of the old debt of the Central American Federation from 1827 to 1860. With the exception of a single lapse her subsequent record is good, and she now occupies the happy position of having no regular foreign debt. Finally Santo Domingo began her financial connection with the outside world by a loan issued in 1869. She has since then off and on been in default for about twenty-two years.

In justice to these States, however, it must be admitted that during the last thirty years political troubles have not been alone responsible for the financial chaos. It must be remembered that, as well as being silver producers in a small way, several of them are also silver users. The effects of the decline in the value of the white metal have been severely felt in countries of far greater economic stability and staying power. It could not, therefore, but prove a serious blow where development in other directions has been hampered by the lack of a feeling of safety for property and even for the person. In some instances the difficulty has been overcome by the successful introduction of a gold currency. Given the necessary foresight, administrative prudence and energy, this course might probably by now have been more extensively adopted; but these elements have unfortunately been wanting, and although the exchange problem which to-day weighs so heavily upon certain of the Latin American republics has doubtless been aggravated by misrule and reckless financial methods, it unquestionably owes its origin to the depreciation of silver.

Another evil has more recently befallen several of them whose staple export has for many years been coffee. The influx of gold due to its sale abroad has provided the means of paying for the many articles which they are incapable of producing and must needs import. The fall in prices has, therefore, been a veritable disaster. It is true that a slight recovery has taken place, but statistics show that the industry is still very far from its former state of prosperity. In some cases the growing trade in bananas may in



time be a source of wealth. For the present, however, it is almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, and practically the whole of the profits remain abroad.

Speaking purely from the point of view of financial relations with the old world, the general situation is, nevertheless, probably better now than it has been for many years past. Nicaragua has for ten years faithfully fulfilled her external obligations. Salvador punctually pays the annual subsidy to an English railway company, which with the exception of some American "claims" is her only foreign liability. Colombia and Venezuela have both just made new arrangements with their long-suffering creditors. While, if the United States Senate will allow him, President Roosevelt intends to hold out a helping hand to Santo Domingo. The list of black sheep therefore for the moment comprises only Costa Rica, Guatemala, and last, but in a sense not least, Honduras, with her revenue of £200,000 a year and her foreign debt close upon £21,000,000.

In the light of past experience, however, it is impossible to foretell how long the present improved conditions will endure. Moreover, there are various reasons for thinking that even in the best disposed of these republics the outlook is by no means promising. Two or three illustrations will suffice to justify this assertion. The Nicaraguan debt is small, but owing to the depreciation of her currency every £1 she pays abroad represents about \$25 of the local money, instead of \$5. Some two years ago Colombia issued from a protracted civil war, which if the number of privates killed was in any degree proportionate to that of the generals, colonels, &c., who fell must have decimated the population. She has since lost Panama, whilst the expenses of the war were met by the short-sighted expedient of issuing forced currency. As a result she now finds herself saddled with a debt in notes reaching the enormous total of nearly \$850,000,000.

At one time the rate of exchange for the paper dollar touched 25,000 per cent. But by legislative enactment the parity between gold and paper was fixed not

long ago—in respect of government transactions—at the relatively moderate figure of 10,000 per cent. Even this means that Colombia's dollar represents only 2d. of our money, and the brain whirls at the thought of the equivalent in currency of the £81,000 which she will in future have to pay each year for the service of her foreign debt. Thus, apart from remedying all the other evils resulting from the civil war, the present administration is confronted with a currency problem of phenomenal difficulty. Gen. Reyes, the new President, is said to be one of the most enlightened and progressive rulers in South America, and he is understood to be taking steps to introduce a gold coinage, but his task seems akin to that of Sisyphus.

In Venezuela the outlook is somewhat less gloomy. Here at least the bolivar, intrinsically equivalent to the franc, circulates freely; and as President Castro has at length succeeded in subduing his adversaries, a season of peace may be anticipated. Yet the "Revolucion Restauradora" which placed Gen. Castro at the head of affairs and the subsequent insurrections have cost the country dear. Both victors and vanquished unfortunately inflicted injuries upon the property of foreigners. Even at the rate of £180,000 per annum it will take Venezuela at least seven years to pay the compensation exacted, and fresh foreign claims are, like ill weeds, growing apace. Under the new arrangement the external debt is exceptionally well secured, but its service, together with that of the internal debt, will form a considerable item in the budget, while the army, of so vital importance to a President whose lease of power has been obtained by force of arms, must be maintained at all costs.

It may perhaps appear that a large amount of space has been devoted to the financial situation of these various republics. The object has, however, been to demonstrate that if the United States have any real intention of acting up to the principles enunciated by President Roosevelt, their path would, under existing circumstances, be beset by many difficulties; whilst if the present improvement

should not, as it is quite possible, be permanent, the position in the future would become yet more complicated.

The most clearly defined case of United States intervention on the new system is that of Santo Domingo. Here a definite plan of action has been elaborated. It cannot be denied that if judiciously carried into effect the proposed course would be beneficial. The story of the origin of this intervention is told at length in President Roosevelt's message to the Senate on the subject of the "Santo Domingo Protocol" embodying the proposed arrangement, viz., that the United States should administer the customs of the republic, and devote 55 per cent. of their product to the payment of its debts. Briefly summarized, the facts are as follows: The disorder in the finances has reached such a pitch that, according to the Dominican Finance Minister himself, 80 per cent. of the revenue would be required to meet the full service of the total debt. On various occasions European creditors have, through their Governments, made complaints at Washington concerning the state of affairs in the republic. And in 1903 the representative of a European Power suggested the institution of international financial control.

The United States, true presumably to the dictum "America for the Americans," would have none of this. Among the many claimants were a group of American companies possessing large vested interests, and with them were associated important British creditors. On behalf of these companies the United States, in the middle of 1904, obtained an arbitral award condemning Santo Domingo to make considerable monthly payments to them, and providing that, in the event of such payments not being made, a "Financial Agent" of the United States was to enter into possession of certain specified customs houses. Needless to say, the payments were not made, and the United States commenced collecting a part of the customs receipts for the sole benefit of the above-mentioned companies and their associates.

Reading between the lines of President

Roosevelt's above-mentioned message, it would appear that this procedure provoked representations on the part of various interested Powers. Be this as it may, the fact remains that the arbitral award, though rendered by an International Court of Arbitration, was practically quashed at the instance of the United States Executive, and the new protocol substituted in its place. This protocol formed the subject of a severe controversy between the United States Senate and the authorities in Washington, the former declining to ratify it on constitutional grounds. It is said, however, that it will again be brought before the Senate, and, in the meantime, a *modus vivendi* has been arranged under which United States officials are in charge of all Dominican Custom Houses, 55 per cent. of the receipts being provisionally deposited in a New York bank for ultimate *pro rata* distribution amongst the creditors.

Such, in mere outline, is the situation, and on the surface it certainly seems that no better or fairer arrangement could have been devised. But irrespective of the placing of the United States upon a plane of superiority which can scarcely be pleasing to other Powers, it possesses at least one very serious defect. The message explicitly states that the United States would "pay what proportion of the debts it is possible to pay on an equitable basis." There can, of course, be no question that the intention is of the best.

In the case, however, of the American claims against Venezuela, which were submitted to a mixed commission at Caracas in 1903-4, the amount awarded represented only 2.86 per cent. of that demanded by the United States Government on behalf of its citizens. This circumstance cannot but engender serious misgivings concerning the degree of discrimination which would be exercised in dealing with the various creditors of Santo Domingo, both as regards the validity of their claims and the rights of some amongst them to preferential treatment. Indeed, it might well be argued that if such was the result of an impartial

examination of claims which could and should have been thoroughly sifted beforehand by the United States authorities, the bona fide creditors of Santo Domingo can scarcely expect absolute equity in practice, as well as in intention, at their hands.

Santo Domingo has been purposely mentioned first because American action there appears less open to criticism than elsewhere. The state of dependence to which the republic would be reduced is the outcome of the misdeeds of its people, and evokes no sympathy. Again, it is unquestionable that, under the suggested regime, the creditors would get something, whereas they now get nothing.

The events connected with Colombia during the last two years show the attitude of the United States in a less favorable light. According to President Roosevelt, a part of his country's mission is "in good faith to help the sister republics which need such help upwards towards peace and order." What, for lack of a better definition, may be termed "active acquiescence" in a successful revolt on the part of Panama, her most valuable province, seems a somewhat peculiar method of rendering to Colombia that assistance of which she stood sorely in need. It will be the duty of the historian of the twentieth century to bring to light the whole truth as to the secession of Panama. Some of the assertions made on behalf of Colombia are doubtless based upon unsubstantial rumors.

But even to-day the following five facts are common property: (1) By a treaty entered into in 1846 the United States guaranteed to New Granada (now Colombia) both the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama and "the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory." (2) By the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty the United States obtained a free hand with regard to the construction of an inter-oceanic canal—a project which they were extremely anxious to carry into effect. (3) The Spooner Act (which authorized the United States Executive to construct the canal) expressly stipulated that "should the President be unable to

obtain for the United States \* \* \* the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia \* \* \* within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms" steps should be taken to utilize the Nicaragua route. (4) Shortly after the treaty negotiated by the United States Executive with the Government of Colombia had been rejected by the Colombia Senate, an insurrection took place in Panama, and the United States Government recognized the new republic within forty-eight hours of its outbreak, and fourteen days afterwards signed a treaty with its representative for the transfer of the canal concession and zone. (5) The attempts of the Colombia government to suppress the insurrection were frustrated by the presence of United States warships, which, acting under orders, prevented the landing of Colombian troops.

The conduct of the Colombian Senate in rejecting the original canal treaty was, of course, most irritating to the United States. It was also reprehensible in the extreme. The excuse that the Colombian constitution did not permit of the convention being ratified was brought forward at so late a period that doubts may well be entertained as to its practical, though perhaps not its technical, validity. Means could probably have been found for overcoming the difficulty, and there is reason for fearing that the Senate's suicidal action was due to unworthy motives. But "two wrongs do not make a right." If the Colombian attitude was inexcusable the subsequent action of the United States, a great and highly civilized Power, was certainly most discreditable. The rights of a weak nation were ruthlessly trodden under foot, and attempts have even been made to justify this procedure on the grounds of expediency and universal advantage.

The incident illustrates the manner in which the great northern democracy is overshadowing the minor trans-oceanic nations. Apart from this and its relation to the construction of the canal, foreign interest in the treatment of Colombia by the United States is naturally more or less academic. The position assumed by

the United States concerning Panama's share of the Colombian foreign debt, however, brings the whole question within the scope of this article.

Few impartial persons will deny that Panama, which has now nominally become a sovereign republic, is in reality an offshoot of the United States in which American influence is all-powerful. Consequently there can be little doubt that on the merest hint from Washington, the Panameno government would have done ample justice to the holders of Colombian bonds. Panama, it is true, offered to become responsible for an amount of Colombia's debt proportionate to her population, i. e., about one-sixteenth, on condition that her independence was recognized by the latter. This was, of course, tantamount to an indefinite postponement of any arrangement. In addition, it was not unreasonably argued that as Panama under the canal treaty had become entitled to receive from the United States £2,000,000 which, but for her secession, might eventually have gone to Colombia, a settlement on the basis of population was inequitable.

President Roosevelt was therefore asked to act as arbitrator. This he declined to do, his reason, which in the peculiar circumstances appears somewhat specious, being that no similar request had reached him from the government of Panama. The outcome of further efforts to obtain assistance was a point-blank refusal to intervene, on the ground that the petitioners were not citizens of the United States. Nevertheless, the United States government professes to desire to hold the scales of justice evenly between these recalcitrant republics and their creditors.

Colombia's neighbor, Venezuela, has earned an unenviable reputation for turbulence and the violation of the rights of foreigners, and the blockading of her coasts by Great Britain, Germany, and Italy belongs to recent history. Yet, without desiring to attribute to her virtues which she does not possess, it must be admitted that the causes for complaint against her have often been grossly exaggerated. The fate of the American claims

submitted to the mixed commission of 1903-4 has already been mentioned. When it is remembered that the amounts awarded by all the commissions which then sat represented less than 20 per cent. of the total of the foreign claims, and that certain other claims put forward by France have lately been reduced by the umpire from nearly 43,000,000 to about 3,000,000 francs, it is evident that this assertion is not entirely without foundation.

Lack of space forbids our dealing adequately with the conflict between France and Venezuela regarding the French Cable Company or the difference with the United States concerning the Bermudez Asphalt Company. But it may safely be asserted that in both instances the Venezuelan case is by no means weak.

Venezuela has incurred the displeasure of the United States authorities probably quite as much by the spirit of independence which she has displayed as by the infliction of "torts" upon American citizens. She has resented the dictatorial attitude of her great northern neighbor, and the arrogance displayed by the late United States Minister at Caracas—his assumption of the role of "resident" instead of "minister resident"—was not calculated to allay that resentment. Indeed, in the recent relations of the United States with Venezuela we look in vain for traces of a philanthropic desire to assist her in her troubles. Attempts at coercion by "carpet-bag" diplomats and the supporting of claims adjudged almost baseless by impartial arbitrators have been their most striking characteristics.

We hold no brief for Gen. Castro, who has many of the faults of his race. To the Anglo-Saxon mind his utterances often appear absurdly bombastic, whilst his methods are doubtless the reverse of diplomatic. But he possesses a redeeming quality which is comparatively rare in Latin America. He seems to be swayed by political ambition rather than by cupidity. Moreover, he recognizes the value of foreign credit. As soon as tranquillity was in some measure restored in the country, he made earnest and persist-

ent efforts to effect a settlement of the foreign debt, and notwithstanding many obstacles, has at length been successful in his endeavors.

From among several other instances in which either the influence or the action of the United States has been prejudicial to the interests of foreign creditors of Latin American States, only one more need be briefly alluded to. The Government of Guatemala has been conspicuous for its bad faith towards its external creditors. An agreement concluded in 1895, under which certain specified revenues were assigned as security for the foreign debt, was broken in 1898. Subsequently three successive arrangements, entailing heavy sacrifices on the part of the creditors, but containing new provisions regarding security, were entered into with authorized representatives of the Republic. Each of them was, however, in turn repudiated by the Guatemalan government.

A few months after the last of these three abortive contracts was signed the government obtained a loan from an American syndicate. To ensure the speedy repayment of this loan the syndicate was granted a lien not only upon the revenues which the Guatemalan agents had then offered as security, but also upon those originally pledged in 1895. The right of the European creditors to either one or the other form of security were matters of common knowledge, and the United States authorities could not but be aware of the facts of the case. Nevertheless they became to all intents and purposes parties to the transaction between the syndicate and the Guatemalan government. Clauses were inserted in the contract stipulating that a duplicate original should be deposited at the United States Legation in Guatemala City, and that the syndicate should have the right of appealing to the United States for protection and support in the event of any violation of its terms. Needless to say, this could scarcely have been done without the knowledge and consent of the American Government.

Since the days of Lord Palmerston it has been the rule of the British Govern-

ment that the "bondholder" must be left practically to his own devices; that he must accept full responsibility for his acts, and not expect either the Foreign Office or any other government department to help him out of the quagmire into which his imprudence has led him. Occasionally a Foreign Secretary has been known to go so far as to intimate that the conclusion of a settlement between debtor and creditor would be viewed with favor—thus abandoning in some slight degree the official attitude of nonintervention—but on the whole the principle laid down by Lord Palmerston has been adhered to.

Whilst this line of conduct may appear harsh and unjust in individual cases, it would be useless to deny that it possesses elements of soundness. Not only must these minor interests necessarily be subordinated to the wider issues involved in the general foreign policy of the country, but for the sake of national prestige official action would in case of need have to be supported by armed force. Debt-collecting with machine-guns is a proceeding worthy of the "mailed fist," which would most certainly not commend itself to the British public. On the other hand there is the danger, which is becoming more and more real every day, that these semi-civilized peoples may come to regard inaction as evidence of inability to act, and that our political and more especially our commercial interests in the tropical regions of the Western Hemisphere may suffer accordingly.

Nevertheless, as Great Britain appears to have consented to the conversion of the Caribbean Sea into, for all practical purposes, a United States lake, it is to be supposed that she must and will abide by the consequences of her bargain. The question whether she is receiving full surrender value of her interests belongs to the domain of *la haute politique*, and need not be here discussed.

The unpleasant idea of using our navy as a baliff immediately conjures up a vision of our sailors shedding their blood while the rich "bondholder" "sits at home at ease." In point of fact, however, the venturesome holders of the bonds of



these republics comparatively seldom belong to the wealthy section of the community. They may roughly be divided into two classes, viz., the speculators pure and simple and what may be styled the unwary investors. Upon the speculator no pity need be wasted. He has usually full knowledge of the risks, and buys the "waste paper at 10 or 20 per cent. of its face value in the expectation of a rise in prices which, if it takes place, occasionally doubles his capital in a few weeks or months. The fate of the unwary investor on the contrary enlists all our sympathy. He, and indeed often she, is a person with a small capital, which renders the prospect of 7 or 8 per cent. irresistibly attractive. Knowing little, having no means of obtaining either information or sound advice, and with hazy ideas of finance and sometimes even of geography, the unwary investor generally buys at relatively high prices, and in nine cases out of ten loses.

During the past two years both these classes of bondholders have learnt to look upon the United States as the *deus ex machina* who will transmute their almost worthless paper into pure gold, and a phenomenal inflation in prices has consequently taken place. Enough has probably been said in the preceding pages to show that so far this belief is founded upon words instead of deeds, for hitherto the intervention of the United States has produced negative rather than positive results with regard to the interests of the European bondholders. Indeed, such action as has taken place has been almost exclusively for the benefit of American citizens, and, notwithstanding fine phrases, Europeans have in reality met with neither sympathy nor help.

It is true that the idea that the Monroe Doctrine ranks not only as a declaration of rights but also as an acknowledgment of an international duty on the part of the United States is of recent growth. It is therefore impossible to assert that

the future may not bring forth fresh developments. These may perhaps falsely present experience, and show that the American Government is seriously intent upon justifying President Roosevelt's somewhat grandiloquent language by seeing justice impartially done. But even if this should come to pass there would remain one important factor to be reckoned with. So long as the Monroe Doctrine might be regarded merely in the light of a barrier interposed between themselves and Europe it was acclaimed by the minor Latin American nations.

It will, however, readily be understood that, tenacious as they are of their independence and of their right to misgovern themselves as they choose, the interpretation now put upon this doctrine is anything but to their taste. They have consequently been learning latterly to dislike and mistrust their northern neighbors, of whom they have long, to some extent, stood in awe. Moreover, they are probably well aware that, as far as they are concerned, the "big stick," which has lately been shaken at them from many platforms in the United States, is more or less of a rhetorical expression. To seize an unprotected isthmus is an *easy* undertaking for a naval power, and the seizure of the ports of a weak country need present no difficulties. But it may safely be asserted that the inhabitants of these republics could, without serious inconvenience, exist for an indefinite length of time without commercial relations with the outside world, and the holding of ports would therefore be an empty and useless display of power were communication with the interior interrupted.

The task of actually forcing the *pax Americana* upon these States, throughout the length and breadth of their territories, is one upon which, in view of past and present experience in the Philippines, even Mr. Roosevelt would presumably hesitate to enter.

## German Colonization in Brazil.

By **FREDERIC WILLIAM WILE.**

(From the Fortnightly Review.)

**G**ERMANS long for a foothold in Brazil, because its mighty area of unpre-empted virgin wealth fulfils their dreams of an economically independent Greater Germany over-sea. They are marching to a realization of their hopes with a plodding precision and that patient confidence-born of well-organized plans. Of specific political intentions—territorial aggrandizement—there is no present justification for speaking. The German Government has declared such intentions as barren of reality as a proposed German annexation of the moon. The assurance bears every semblance of sincerity; yet the way for territorial conquest is being paved in a manner to make it a comparatively easy step, if conditions for its achievement are ever ripe. Thus, while militant professors are consigning the Monroe doctrine to an inglorious fate upon the scrap-heap of the obsolete, German bankers, shipping lines, merchants, manufacturers and colonizing syndicates are prosecuting a restless campaign to Germanize Brazilian trade and industry, honeycomb the land with undiluted Germanism and people wide sections of it with settlements of German colonists.

The results of their combined efforts save the commentator the precarious task of drawing conclusions. Already 500,000 Germans, emigrants and their offspring, are resident in Brazil. The great majority of them, it is true, have embraced Brazilian citizenship, but their ideals and ties are essentially and inviolably German. In the south, where they

are thickest, they have become the ruling element. German factories, warehouses, shops, farms, schools and churches dot the country everywhere. German has superseded Portuguese, the official language of Brazil, in scores of communities. Twenty million pounds of vested interests—banking, street railroads, electric works, mines, coffee plantations and a great variety of business undertakings—claim the protection of the Kaiser's flag. A cross-country railway and a still more extensive projected system are in the hands of German capitalists. The country's vast ocean traffic, the Amazon River shipping, and much of the coasting trade are dominated by Germans.

Over and above this purely commercial conquest, however, looms a factor of more vital importance to North American susceptibilities—namely, the creation of a nation of Germans in Brazil. That is the avowed purpose of three German colonizing concerns, which have become lords and masters over 8,000 square miles of Brazilian territory, an area considerably larger than the kingdom of Saxony, and capable of dwarfing half-a-dozen German grand duchies. It is the object of these territorial syndicates to people their lands with immigrants willing to be "kept German"—a race of transplanted men and women who will find themselves amid conditions deliberately designed to perpetuate "Deutschthum," which means the German language, German customs and unyielding loyalty to German economic hopes. The

Fatherland has tired of serving as mere breeding-ground for roomier nations. It wants to raise citizens, not emigrants to "adopted countries." If such citizens are to be bred, fed, employed and preserved for their country, the problem will have to be worked out upon less overcrowded and exhausted soil than that of Germany in Europe. The empire long ago set about acquiring over-sea colonies, with a view to wrestling with this emergency, but German colonies tell a story of failure and disappointment. Dependencies in Africa, Asia, and the South Seas, though they compose a domain five times bigger than Germany itself, have proved nothing but graveyards for subsidies and soldiers. Their future is hardly less gloomy.

That is why the expansion dreams of Germans center elsewhere, and particularly in Brazil. They see there a country of boundless resources, rivalling in variety and reputed richness the imperial natural wealth of the United States, and inhabited by an inferior Latin people who are unfitted, either by nature or training, to develop the El Dorado around and beneath them. German industry and the nation's multiplying population, dependent to an humiliatingly increasing degree upon raw materials and foodstuffs from abroad, are enchanted with the prospect of freedom from economic feudalism in this Land of Promise. German textile mills conjure up the prospect of Brazilian-grown "German cotton," which shall smash the yoke now binding them to Dixie. Iron and steel manufacturers, ship-builders, electric works and industrialists in general contemplate the time when coal, iron, copper, petroleum, and rubber from lands owned and worked by Germans, shall furnish an endless supply of raw-stuffs; and the growing millions of the Fatherland, already compelled to import 20 per cent. of their sustenance, nurse the vision of a horn of plenty—corn, sugar, cocoa, coffee, and rice—filled in Brazil from Germanized soil.

This hankering for a foothold beneath the Western Equator has, then, a more practical basis than the sentimental aspirations of an ambitious Emperor or

the Jingo-babble of Pan-Germans. It is born of impelling necessity, and it must be gratified, according to its apostles, unless Germany is to remain in the tow of rival countries, content with its glorious past and indifferent for the future. It would be an insult to the virile Germanism of Emperor William's day to harbor the illusion that his people dream of resigning themselves to such an alternative.

Germanization of Brazil is no twentieth-century project. It has been in progress for more than seventy years, although aggressively prosecuted only during the past decade, coincident with the birth and rise of the rampant expansion movement known as Pan-Germanism. The earliest German settlers in Brazil were 700 pilgrims, who set out from the Rhineland in 1829 and located in the State of Santa Catharina. In the immediate neighborhood of that pioneer colony—in the two southernmost States of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catharina—German effort, so far as colonization is concerned, has been concentrated. The two States aggregate an area not much smaller than the German Empire. From 1859 to 1896 the Von der Heydt rescript, a piece of agrarian legislation designed to stifle any sort of German over-sea movement, restricted German emigration to the Brazils, but long before it was repealed Germanism had usurped an extensive foothold there in the form of populous settlements of agriculturists and traders. The Colonies of Blumenau and Dona Francisca, established in Santa Catharina in 1849 by Dr. Blumenau, of Brunswick, and the Hamburg Colonizing Society, had become prosperous communities of transplanted Teutons as solidly German as a Prussian province. To-day their 1,800 or 2,000 square miles of area are dotted thick with blooming towns and settlements, in which the German element, where not exclusive, is overwhelmingly predominant.

With these foundations the Hanseatic Colonization Company, of Hamburg, came into existence in 1897 as the successor of the old Hamburg Colonizing Society. It has a nominal working capi-

tal of £65,000, 3,500 members and an official organ. While in no sense a government enterprise, it received official recognition in 1898 through an "Imperial patent." Moreover, its supporters are recruited from the ranks of capitalists, shippers and exporters, whose interests ally them inseparably with all Germany's over-sea activities. The company maintains head offices at Hamburg and propaganda branches all over the empire. It signalized its birth by acquiring from the government of the State of Santa Catharina a territorial grant of 1,075,000 acres, which, added to the property bequeathed by its predecessor, constitutes a present holding of about 1,600,000 acres. This huge tract is known as the "Colony Hansa." With the old-established and adjoining colonies of Blumenau and Dona Francisca, Germans hold sway over a colonial sphere in Santa Catharina of some 4,000 square miles. A fifth of Santa Catharina's 320,000 inhabitants is German. They have a monopoly of trade and industry, and are the only successful agriculturists. In the capital, Desterro, in the port of Sao Francisco, and in the towns of Joinville, Blumenau, Itajaby, and Brusque, Germans are the leading citizens, being encountered everywhere as local officials, merchants, pastors, teachers and artisans.

In numerous communities where the German element is practically exclusive, German self-government exists. The States of Brazil are divided into small municipal districts, and scores of these are thus administered by and for Germans. Road-building, irrigation and general public utilities are under German supervision, and Germans are permitted to maintain a system of taxation for the support of exclusive German schools and churches. Only in the external affairs of the municipios is it apparent that the country is Brazilian. German is spoken everywhere. Even negro natives have been compelled, owing to monopolization of trade and industry by German employers, to acquire a smattering of the perplexing language. Nothing so uniquely illustrates the comprehensiveness of

the German invasion of Brazil, from a territorial standpoint, as the propaganda map issued by the Hanseatic Colonization Company, which shows the Germanized sections of Santa Catharina in distinctive colors. A notation explains that the colored spots are "German colonies." The impression is thus conveyed that a big slice of this Brazilian commonwealth is German soil. The delusion, of course, is a bit of booming akin to the glittering information retailed by American land-agents, yet it does not unnaturally suggest that the wish may be father to the thought.

In the adjoining State of Rio Grande do Sul, although colonization is less advanced, Germanism is even more pronounced than in Santa Catharina. Two hundred and fifty thousand Germans are resident in the State, numbering twenty-five per cent. of the population. They have entered every field of economic activity and are pre-eminent in most. Organized colonization is superintended by Dr. Hermann Meyer, of Leipzig, who, six years ago, acquired a territorial grant of 51,600 acres, and founded the colonies of New Wurttemberg and Xingu. According to his prospectus, "Rio Grande do Sul is far better suited to the creation of a 'State within a State' than the sections to which Germans have flocked in North America." In answer to an inquiry as to what percentage of Germans settled in Brazil has renounced German citizenship, Dr. Meyer writes that "Most of them, according to the laws of the republic, have become Brazilian citizens, but have remained Germans in speech and ideals, and maintain in trade and in general the most intimate relations with the Fatherland." The Brazilian representative of Dr. Meyer's colonizing concern is the German and Austro-Hungarian Consul-General at Porto Alegre.

Far less developed than the Hanseatic Colonies in Santa Catharina, but vaster in extent, is the immense territorial concession of the German Rio Grande Northwest Railway of Rio Grande do Sul, a Dresden corporation which holds a grant for a trunk line along the Uru-

guay River, covering a total area of 4,600 square miles. The concession resembles in general characteristics the Shantung mining concession, which gives Germany a paramount influence in East China. There has been no attempt to colonize this veritable principality of a land grant, because the railway company has failed to find construction funds. The State of Rio Grande do Sul has imposed the condition that the land may be settled only in the proportion of one German to two settlers of other nationalities, but the ease with which Germans in Brazil have assimilated European immigration of all origins — Italians, Swiss, Alsations, Greeks, and even hostile French and Poles—relieves this restriction of any embarrassing feature. Rio Grande do Sul's soil and sub-tropical climate are peculiarly suitable for cattle-raising, resembling the La Plata States of the Argentine, and there are planted the hopes of a great German meat industry which shall some day make the Fatherland independent of foreign pork and beef and obviate the danger of such a meat famine as the empire is now experiencing.

These various colonizing concerns conduct a sleepless propaganda throughout German-speaking Europe. They emit whole libraries of literature in the form of pamphlets, brochures, maps and newspaper publications, one vying with the other in painting Brazil as a picture of glorious future, always providing that Germans in goodly numbers go there to develop it. Public lectures are delivered from time to time, the speakers dwelling in glowing terms upon the desirability of Germanizing the giant republic of the Dom Pedros. The Berlin "*Tageblatt*," in response to the growing interest of Germans in South America, has dispatched a special commissioner to Brazil to make a comprehensive report upon the status of "*Deutschthum*" there. All sorts of tempting bait are dangled before the Hans and Michael who are contemplating emigration. They are assured, for instance, that Germans may live in Brazil for years without a night of a policeman or a soldier. Another report

mentions encouragingly that lager beer, brewed by German breweries on the spot, is gradually supplanting Paraguay tea as the national beverage of the country. Great stress is laid upon the ease with which families are bred, thanks to favoring climatic conditions. Parents with twelve or fourteen children are described as common throughout the "German Colonies," and it is pointed out that amid the urgent demands for manual labor in Brazil they constitute real blessings, instead of mill-stones, as they frequently prove in Germany, with its bitter struggle for existence. Moneyless emigrants, with qualms about a home in Brazil, are informed that a very decent existence can be enjoyed for the first year or two in log-huts, with palmetto leaves for roofs. In addition to a great variety of this kind of persuasion, the colonizing syndicates offer settlers practical inducements in the shape of cheap land. Farms of sixty-five acres can be had for from £30 to £50, and building lots in towns for £12 to £15. Property may be bought on seven years' time, and 10 per cent. rebate is granted to cash purchasers.

The efforts of the colonizing companies and exporters are supported vigorously by an influential organization known as the German-Brazilian Society, with headquarters in Berlin and branches throughout the country. It stands in close relation to the German Colonial Society, the propaganda branch of the Imperial Colonial Office. It maintains a systematic campaign of education through public meetings and publications, designed to keep Brazil to the front as the ideal outlet for German capital and surplus population. The Society for the Perpetuation of the German Language Abroad is also an active promoter of Germanism in Brazil, devoting funds to the endowment of schools, libraries and churches in the Germanized districts. The president of the society is Professor Adolf Wagner, of the University of Berlin, who relieves himself of periodical caustic tirades against the Monroe doctrine.

Apart from the colonizing enterprises



which are the tangible attempts of Germans to secure a foothold in the country, German influence everywhere in Brazil is actively at work. Not many months ago Brazilians were agitated by the reconnoitring cruise of a German gunboat up the Amazon River. It is announced that the Germans in the country are about to organize a "Germanic mutual protection association," the membership of which shall be open to all persons of Germanic races, whether Germans, Austrians, Swiss, Dutch or Scandinavians. The purpose of the association, as set forth in its articles, is "to protect its members against the abuse of power by the local authorities, and to provide a remedy for the imperfect administration of the law. It is proposed that the association shall be the focus of German influence in Brazil, and shall help to cement the Germanic element now distributed throughout the republic, to foster a feeling of unity among Germans, and to persuade them to co-operate in asserting their just desires and protecting their interests." This determination of Germans to remain German in everything but formal citizenship is naturally annoying to the Brazilians themselves. It seems certain that they have imbibed none of the nationalistic spirit of their "adopted" country. They, indeed, fight shy of any such influences. By origin and training superior to the native Latin, they refuse to become assimilated with an inferior civilization. Senor Barboas Lima, a distinguished deputy, addressing the Federal Congress at Rio Janeiro last autumn, referred scathingly to this organized, unyielding foreign invasion, and alleged that through it the south of Brazil is undergoing gradual, but certain, denationalization.

In middle and north Brazil, German effort is confined to commercial pursuits. In all the busy trade centers the German flag waves over important establishments whose headquarters are in Hamburg or Berlin. At Rio Janeiro, Pernambuco, Bahia, Sao Paulo and Porto Alegre Germans wage hot competition with English, American and French houses. They are rapidly improving their

position as Brazil's third greatest commercial relation. In 1901 Brazil bought £2,000,000 worth of German goods and exported to Germany £6,400,000 worth of its own products. Thousands of acres of coffee plantations, the economic prop of the republic, are owned by Germans; although only 15 per cent. of the annual crop, representing £3,200,000, comes to Germany, a considerably larger proportion of the rich trade in the bean is in German hands.

Upon the basis that control of communications is a most effective guarantee of economic predominance, Germans have succeeded in securing an important hold upon Brazilian shipping. Three lines connect Germany with Brazilian ports—the Hamburg-American, the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg South American Steamship Company—while the *Slovan* line (New York-Rio Janeiro) is also German owned. These corporations have divided Brazil's long Atlantic frontage into well-ordered, non-conflicting sections, with a view to centralizing traffic into their hands. Boats go from Hamburg and Bremen to middle Brazil weekly, and semi-monthly to northern and southern ports. Formerly coasting traffic was largely in German hands, but the new Cabotagem law makes it necessary that coasting vessels now carry the Brazilian flag. The Hamburg lines, however, maintain an extensive system of lighters, tugs and barges for harbor and loading work at all ports. It has been stated in the German financial press that Germans, representing the Hamburg-American line, will soon acquire the "Brazillero Lloyd," the great Amazon River line which dominates inland shipping. Arrangements have also been afoot for the consolidation with the German companies of the Booth Steamship line of England, the only service seriously competing with German ships for Brazilian transatlantic traffic. When these several arrangements are completed, German influence upon Brazilian shipping will be almost incontestable.

The only built railway in Brazil owned by Germans is the Oeste de Minas line, connecting Rio Janeiro with the great

coffee country to the north. This road was financed by the Disconto Gesellschaft Bank of Berlin—the same institution in whose behalf German guns spoke in Venezuela—to the extent of 23,000,000 marks. The interest upon the investment, which is guaranteed by the government of the State of Minas Geraes, was in default since 1898, however, and the railway for a long time was entangled in some confiscatory litigation which threatened to invoke the intervention of the German Government.

Splendid facilities for widening German economic influence in the Brazils are furnished by the Brazilian Bank for Germany, organized in 1887 with a capital of £500,000. It has played an important role in the development of German trade and industry and enjoyed a prosperous, dividend paying career. The bank is owned by the Disconto Gesellschaft of Berlin and the Norddeutsche Bank of Hamburg, with head offices in Hamburg and branches at Rio Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Santos, and Porto Alegre. Its chief purpose is to give German capital an opportunity of participating in the financing of Brazil's vast international trade and to emancipate German merchants from dependence upon the English money market. One of its specialties is the discounting of bills against Brazilian buyers of German products, whereby the Fatherland's exporters are enabled to woo trade upon the excessively long credit basis common in South America.

It is not generally known that the Disconto Gesellschaft and the Deutsche Bank, the two fine Berlin institutions which furnish the financial sinews for all Germany's over-sea ventures, have split South America into specific "spheres of influence." By agreement the Disconto Bank operates in Brazil, Venezuela and Chile, while the Deutsche Bank is permitted exclusive rights in the Argentine, Peru and the rest of South and Central America. It is stated that nearly one-third of Brazil's external national debt of £42,000,000 is owing to German bankers and capitalists.

Reference has been made to the apos-

ties and historians of the German movement in Brazil. Their name is legion, but their line of thought so identical that to quote one or two of them is to represent them all in composite. One of the frankest exponents of the case is the well-known Professor Gustav Schmoller, of the Department of Political Economy at the University of Berlin. In his work on "Commerce and Power" (1900) Schmoller says: "We must, at all costs, wish that, during the next hundred years, a German country of 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 Germans will arise in South Brazil. It matters not whether it remains a part of Brazil, forms an independent State, or comes into closer relations with the German Empire. Without, however, a connection whose stability is guaranteed by warships—without the possibility of forcible German intervention there—such a development is endangered."

Later on, in the same chapter, Schmoller adds: "The conquest of Cuba and the Philippines has altered the political and economic ethics of the United States. Their tendency to exclude Europe from the markets of North and South America necessarily presages grave conflicts in the future." Again: "Without settlements such as Germany possesses in Kiao-chau (China), and without the protection of a powerful fleet, exploitation and the holding open of middle and South American markets will be impossible."

Dr. Walther Kundt, who has published one of the latest and most authoritative accounts of "Deutschthum" in Brazil, closes his exhaustive work with the following remarks:

"Brazil is a crippled, poorly-organized community of 16,000,000 souls—frivolous, uneducated, unscientific, inartistic, unmilitary; who can neither colonize, establish proper means of communication, build a fleet, regulate finances nor guarantee justice; a government that cannot be described as anything but a robber band. Yet these people hold sway over a rich and fruitful empire the size of Europe, which could take over the role now played by the United States if only

people of Germanic, instead of Latin, extraction ruled there. The Brazilian does not like the foreigner. He feels a dislike for the representatives of a nation the superior of his own in intelligence; but the Brazilians are not capable of maintaining a firm resistance to demands. If foreign companies or foreign states want concessions from the government at Rio Janeiro, they will get them \* \* \*

"Real successes in Brazil, however—and this must be strongly emphasized—are not possible through isolated attempts by individuals or small corporations, but only if German capital, supported by public opinion and by the German Government, turns itself Brazilwards. One does not expect that the German Government can, as yet, assert itself energetically in Brazil. It is the government's duty to protect and to further existing interests, not to create new ones, but when interests are established we must be assured that the Imperial Government will intervene on their behalf with the greatest possible vigor \* \* \*

"As to the Monroe doctrine, I believe that this rests upon a thoroughly antiquated foundation, and, in the course of the coming century, will give way to another foreign policy upon the part of the United States \* \* \* What will eventually become of the South American states, now ruled by Spanish and Portuguese elements, no one knows. That they cannot remain in the hands of the most incapable branch of the Latin race, however, is certain. In the future they will play the same role as Turkey and China, whose continued existence is possible only through the jealousies of the powers; but the economic conquest of these lands by the Western peoples is already in progress. Germany has taken therein the share to which it is entitled. May it do the same in South America!"

Perhaps the most significant avowal of German aspirations in Brazil ever uttered from a responsible quarter is an article published in 1903 by the "*Grenzboten*," of Leipzig, an influential weekly review, the semi-official character of which was established by the fact that

it was chosen as the medium of bringing Emperor William's celebrated religious manifesto to public notice. After pointing out that Asia was daily becoming more Russian, and Africa more British, the "*Grenzboten*" asked if the Germans could really shut themselves out of the remaining ungrabbed continent (South America), and added:

"Above all, German enterprise in South America must avoid a wasting distribution of power by concentrating its energy in the three southern-most States of Brazil. In South Brazil, according to expert opinion, the best conditions exist for the development of colonization, and the Germans who have settled there have through five generations preserved their German identity. The establishment of Imperial German consulates in Curitiba, Desterro, Porto Alegre and Rio Grande proves that we have already begun to prepare these giant areas. Just as the old Von der Heydt rescript once prohibited German emigration to Brazil, however, must we now pass laws making it a punishable offence for Germans to emigrate to other countries than Brazil. As soon as we have brought South Brazil within our sphere of interest, we can guarantee settlers absolutely undisturbed development, the more so as German capital will naturally under such circumstances be induced to interest itself extensively in those sections. We must, however, guard against transplanting German bureaucrats to Brazil. Let us permit the country as great a degree of self-government as possible. Let us permit it to be ruled by officials raised and educated there, and let us organize a colonial army in which every man can serve his time without returning to Germany. Let us also give Brazil most-favored-nation tariff preferences. Within a few years, then, we shall see the rise on the other side of the Atlantic of a vigorous German colonial empire, which shall perhaps become the finest and most lasting colonial enterprise old Europe ever created."

Based, then, upon their achievements so far and their expressed hopes for the

future, the German programme in Brazil would seem to contemplate:

1. Colonization of Southern Brazil with settlers, who shall remain German in language, trade, ideals and surroundings.

2. Expansion of German commercial, industrial and financial activity, with control of means of communication, both inland and oceanic.

3. Abandonment or modification of the Monroe doctrine by the United States, which shall eventually permit economic predominance to be turned to political account without war.

To the student of moving events the passing of the years promises no more fascinating prospect than the development of this chrysalis of great expectations.



## HOME THOUGHTS.

By ARMIE WHITE.

(From Temple Bar.)

"Coelum non animum mutant qui trans  
mare currunt."

To them who sail the distant seas  
Far Eastward, whence rich argosies  
Come rolling back before some scented  
breeze

Westward—and Home!

Or Northward, where in lowering grey  
The fish fleets earn from day to day  
Their scanty wage, while flecked with  
Arctic spray

Or Baltic foam!

Where'er the British colours fly  
In forts, whose sentinels descry

The golden streams of Commerce flowing  
by

In far-off climes,

Whither, on unknown Fortune bound  
Leaving the old, have settlers found  
A younger Briton on some newer ground—  
To these, at times,

Do thoughts come crowding in amain  
Of furrow, hedge and country lane,  
Of down and hill, of spring and harvest  
wain

And sunlit leas.

Not changing years, new scenes, nor yet  
Fresh ties can tempt them to forget  
The Old Home in the little islands set  
In Northern seas!

## The Use of a Brain.

By BERNARD HOLLANDER, M. D.

(From the Westminster Review.)

ONE would suppose that with the combined forces of the different branches of medicine: anatomy, physiology, pathology, neurology and psychiatrical science, we should have arrived at some very definite conclusions as to the functions of the most important organ of the human body, the brain. Yet there is hardly another subject on which there prevails such a diversity of opinion as does on the functions of that structure, through which all mental operations take place. One would presume that scientific investigators are quite agreed that the brain is the organ of the mind, but that depends on what we understand by "mind." Many men regard mind as if the term were equivalent to intellect and did not include the feelings and fundamental impulses, and they take the size of the brain as a measure of intellectual capacity, quite forgetting that animals, too, have brains; some, like the mouse, have even larger brains in proportion to the size of the body, than man, yet no one would dream of comparing the intellect of these animals with the human understanding. To such persons it is a puzzle that large brains should be found allied at times with poor intellect, and small brains with great wisdom. An explanation is sought for.

Some there are who find the solution in differences in quality of the brain matter. This, however, is an insufficient explanation, for men of great intellectual ability and apparently the same quality of brain, like Cuvier and Gambetta,

occur, the one heading the list with the heaviest, while the other ranges at the bottom of the list with the lightest brain, Cuvier's brain weighing sixty-four ounces, and Gambetta's only thirty-nine, which is considerably below the alleged normal limit. Another explanation put forward is that the differences obtaining in the weight of brains are due wholly to differences in the bulk of the body. A little reflection will dispose of this argument, for we know that long after the brain has attained its full size and weight, the body not only increase in weight, but in one and the same individual may vary considerably in weight at different stages of adult life, without any corresponding fluctuations taking place in the weight of the brain.

The error is in taking absolute size of the brain as a measure of intellectual power, whereas it indicates, as might be inferred a priori, absolute mental power, without determining whether that power lies in extent of intellect, in strength of moral feeling, or in force of passion or affection. They forget that the cortex of the brain records all the events, of whatever nature, which transpire within the sphere of existence of the individual, not merely as concerns the intellectual knowledge acquired, but likewise the emotions passed through, and the passions indulged in. Were these observers to weigh the different lobes of the brain separately, they would find that the extent of the intellect varied with the mass of the frontal lobes, that part of the cerebrum, the size of which



distinguishes man from animals, and not with the entire brain. Hence a man with a very small brain may still be distinguished by his intellectual gifts if the greater mass of his brain be situated in the anterior region; and a man may be intellectually an idiot, though with a brain of the same size, or larger, if the greater portion of his encephalon be situated in the posterior and lateral regions.

Most men utterly disregard this distinction. They confound intellectual power, moral feeling and brute propensity, and treat the brain as if it consisted only of one lobe with only one function, namely, the manifestation of intellect. But we all feel as well as think, and our judgment is often influenced by our feelings; in too many instances, indeed, the latter obscure or warp, or even completely subjugate, the former. Satisfaction, discontent, desire, fear, anger, jealousy, hatred, grief, &c., are so many states of our internal organization, which the animal and the man do not determine, but which both feel before having thought of them. They exist for the preservation of the animal and man, without consciousness, reflection, or active participation on the part of the individual being necessary. The animal and man are so organized because there are objects and events which from their nature must be detested or loved, desired or feared. These mental states, when they reach a certain degree of intensity, do then what electric excitation of the brain does in a vivisectioned animal. They produce certain peculiar external acts, such as gestures, movements, attitudes, which likewise take place involuntarily, and without consciousness being necessary, and which always correspond conformably to the designs of nature, to the preservation and the needs of the individual.

If the whole brain were subservient to the intellectual functions, what becomes of the insanity of conduct, of emotional insanity, of moral idiocy, and certain systematized insanities or monomanias, in which the perception, memory and judgment remain unaffected? These affections can only be explained by disease of

one part causing derangement of some of the intellectual faculties, while disease in another part may not disturb the intellect, but derange the moral powers or propensities, for the intellect and the emotions are related to two different parts of the brain.

Any idea may exist associated with almost any emotional state; it may also exist without the co-existence of any emotional state. Any simple emotional state, as fear, or anger, may exist, without being associated with any idea, without the simultaneous existence of any thought. A man may not be afraid; the individual suffers from fear, not from fear of something. Moreover, there is no relation between the intensity of emotional and intellectual action going on at the same time, as we should think must necessarily be the case if these two were functions of one and the same part of the brain. In any given individual the intellect may be highly developed, and the passions and emotions very ill developed, or the reverse; so that we often see clever men with bad hearts, and men with excellent moral qualities who are exceedingly stupid. The fool may have a kind and affectionate heart, and the criminal a quick wit. Of course intellectual and moral defects may also co-exist. Yet a very eminent authority on lunacy declares that "emotional alteration points to a pathological condition of the whole nervous system."

That there are many physicians who consider changes in character have nothing to do with the brain is evident from the frequent statement that injuries of the brain may be sustained without being accompanied by any mental symptom. Thus in a representative journal on insanity the statement is put forward by the editors that: "Abscess of the brain may exist, or portions of it may be carried away by gunshot or other injuries, and yet no perceptible difference be observed in the mentality of the individual." An examination of the reports of such cases has revealed to me that without exception those in attendance on such patients had taken no account of the changes in the character and conduct of

the person thus injured or diseased, not regarding the feelings and passions as having any association with the brain. Surely the assumed integrity of the mental faculties in cases where the brain is injured or diseased rests on no foundation, save ignorance or lack of attention on the part of the observer. If it were not so, of what good is the brain?

A stock argument against the localization of mental functions in the brain is that experimental physiology only knows of centers for movement and sensation. But what else can we expect from the irritation and mutilation of the brains of living animals? Is it likely that they will ever throw light on the mental aptitudes and dispositions of man? The question is, are these centers purely motor and sensory, or should we not consider them as psycho-motor and psychosensory? For, as I have shown, in many cases the movements correspond to certain emotional states; and this is the view held by the originators of these experiments, though frequently disregarded. Anthropologists have described long, short, broad, narrow, round, oval, cylindrical, keel-shaped and sugar-loaf heads. What can be the significance of these? Is it that we differ so much in the development of our motor and sensory centers, or is it that no two of us are alike in the proportion of our intellectual faculties, feelings and propensities? The savages of the interior of Borneo or of Western Australia have the same motor and sensory centers as the highly cultured Englishman, yet the former's sole business in life is to eat and drink.

Have we, as medico-psychologists, nothing to say on the subject? Does clinical observation go for nothing? Is the laboratory man, the experimental physiologist, to teach us the mental functions of the brain from his experiments on frogs, pigeons, rabbits, dogs, cats and monkeys? At best such experimental observations can reveal only the centers for movements of particular groups of muscles and of special sensations. Clinical observation, on the other hand, is conducted on human beings, and reveals loss of reflective faculties, loss of

particular memories; it reveals accentuated feelings and propensities, for instance, of the emotion of fear, of irascibility, of the hoarding instinct, of attachment to home and family, of self-consciousness, &c. Experiments on animals cannot reveal any mental faculty. The speech center was not discovered in the laboratory. Half a hemisphere can be scooped out from an animal's brain, apparently without any effect on its mental nature, if we are to believe some of the experimenters; yet a trifling injury to the cortex of the brain may render a man insane.

No hypothesis of motor and sensory functions will make us understand, for example, the character of the born criminal: his moral obtuseness, his cunning and resourcefulness, his excessive vanity, his lack of sympathy and a hankering for some object lying within reach. These are all inborn characteristics, quickened to activity by vicious environment. It is worthy of note here that criminal anthropologists have found in the central convolutions—that is, in the motor area—the most numerous deviations in the brains of criminals, yet it cannot be said that their motor functions are in any way impaired. If a man's brain be made up only of motor and sensory areas, copybook maxims would be all that is requisite to render a man virtuous and persevering.

Motor centers will not explain why one man is more ambitious, or more proud, selfish, or more sympathetic than another. Or again, why some men place their happiness in the possession of riches and others in a philosophy which elevates them above the human kind. Or furthermore, wherefore a son who has inherited somewhat exclusively the qualities of his father, should be found so frequently to fail with his failures, sin with his sins, excel with his virtues, and, speaking generally, to edge through life in much the same kind of fashion.

If it be unwise to place too much reliance on the results obtained in the laboratory, and the deductions drawn from them by the experimenter, it is still more unwise to take as a guide to a

physiological psychology the doctrines of speculative philosophers who invent theories by self-introspection. The faculties recognized by metaphysicians are, amongst others, attention, memory, understanding and will. If these were really fundamental forces, there would be no reason why they should be manifested so differently, according as they are exercised on different objects. There would be no reason why the same individual should not learn geography, music, mechanics and arithmetic with equal facility, since their memory would be equally faithful for all these things.

But where is the man who, after the greatest possible application, succeeds with equal ease in these different branches of knowledge? As regards attention, some men who are attentive to mathematics would fall asleep while others are talking of music. A painter may pay attention to pictures, but he does not care about science. The scientific man, on the other hand, is all attention to science, and unless he be endowed with the artistic sense as well, he pays no attention to art. A coquette's whole attention is engrossed by the milliner's shop; she would pass the most valuable collection of natural history, or the richest library, with perfect indifference.

As regards desire or will, there are as many sorts of desires and inclinations as there are fundamental powers. Combative men wish to fight every man who attacks them. Proud men wish people to think them very important. Benevolent men wish every one to be well taken care of. Nor is there a fundamental power of judgment. We see persons who can judge perfectly of colors, but not of music. Some can judge rightly of mathematics, yet not of poetry. One individual may possess strong attention, ready perception, a tenacious memory, a very correct judgment, an inventive and brilliant imagination in one particular talent, and prove well nigh imbecile in another.

Memory, attention, judgment are attributes of all the faculties of the mind. They could not be restricted to any particular portion of brain. In this respect

mind is a unit, and cannot be parcelled out to any particular areas. Otherwise, with the special memories, they admit of being localized. There are numerous cases recorded in which one or more special memories were lost, while the rest remained intact. Thus the memory for words has gone, while that for tunes, numbers, and places has been maintained. Or again, the memory for tunes disappeared, while the memory for numbers, or words, was maintained. Elsewhere I have given numerous examples of circumscribed lesions of the brain accompanied by loss of special mental powers. They enable us also to explain why, among idiots, there are to be found special instances of extraordinary memory as for words, for example, of great calculating power, of histrionic ability, of musical art, or of great manipulative skill.

That the intellectual powers are related to the frontal lobes of the brain is admitted by many observers, and measurements taken by anthropologists support this view. Several neurologists and alienists have also verified the fact that disease of the frontal lobes affects the higher intellectual processes of judgment and reason; and it has also been noted that there is a frequent association of idiocy with defect of the anterior part of the brain. Moreover, comparative anatomy supports our observation. There is a gradual development of this brain-area in animal creation; yet the orang-outang, whose brain most closely resembles the human organ, has still frontal lobes much smaller than those of the lowest human idiot.

But our view is not universal. While some agree with us that the frontal lobes are the seat of the highest mental powers, there are quite a number of authorities who hold that the intellectual functions are related to the whole brain. Others, again, who hold that only the posterior lobes have to do with these functions, and the latest are those who declare that the parietal lobes, at the sides of the brain, are concerned with intellect.

The localization in the posterior lobes

has some eminent advocates, and is defended in a text book largely used in medical schools on the ground that experimental physiology lends no support to the view that the frontal brain is the seat of the intellectual faculties, "as the sensory centers (and sensations are the materials for intellect) are situated behind or within, and not in front of the Rolandic area"—i. e., the central or motor area of the brain. According to this view all knowledge would be a knowledge of sensations. The different talents, for music, poetry, mathematics, etc., should all be simple modifications of one or more of the five senses. It would lead us to assume that men are born with equal original mental capacity, opportunities and education determining the differences of subsequent development.

Laura Bridgman, the blind, deaf and dumb woman, was remarkably intelligent, and Miss Helen Keller, a similarly afflicted pupil of the Perkins Institution, has even taken the first prize at an examination in competition with normal girls. I am not aware that the three remaining senses, through which these ladies had to be taught—the senses of taste, smell and touch—are situated in the posterior lobes. The observation made by Dr. Howe three years after the introduction of Laura Bridgman into the Perkins Institution for the Blind does not harmonize with the theory of the intellectual centers being in the posterior, or occipital lobes, for he wrote: "A perceptible change has taken place in the size and shape of her head. There is a marked increase in the size of her forehead."

If all our ideas derive from the senses, what becomes of the general and purely intellectual ideas, whose significance is wholly independent of the material world? For example, "there is no effect without a cause." If all our ideas come from the senses, then the mind should be always proportionate to the greater or less delicacy of these same senses. If the existence of Homer be doubted, there certainly was Milton, who was blind at an early age, but what imagina-

tion can be stronger and more brilliant? Beethoven was deaf while still a fairly young man; his deafness accentuated his natural disposition to suspicion, but he did not cease to compose music. Moreover, have not animals in many respects more perfect senses than man?

Why should the sensory region be just the intellectual region? The feelings and passions can be aroused just the same, and much quicker, as the result of the objective perception gained through the medium of the eye. Not only does the sensation of sight arouse emotion, but it differs according to the emotion we are already in. How the earth shines to the accepted lover? How sombre to him as deepest midnight when suddenly jilted! How sweet is life to the young mother as she gathers in both hands the rosy cheeks of her infant and stoops to kiss its puckered lips! How bitter, how hateful, when she casts herself all sobbing upon its new-made grave!

Not even as to the growth and development of the brain are we in agreement. A leading author on feeble-minded children states that the brain stops growing at twelve years of age, one authority puts it as low as seven, another as high as thirty and forty, to which view I incline; but one of my critics holds with Prof. Karl Pearson, who declared recently that "generally at about seventeen years of age there is a noticeable change within and without the skull, which continues during the remainder of life, so that size and weight of brain-material form no criterion for the judgment of human intelligence." I wonder what Mr. Gladstone, who even in his old age declared that his head was increasing in size, would have said to this!

Again, on another item of simple observation there is diversity of opinion. Thus most anatomists teach—to mention only Sir William Turner, Prof. Cunningham, Prof. Symington—that the skull and brain grow together, and that the size and general shape of the brain may be estimated with tolerable accuracy by the size and general shape of the skull. This fact seems to be very little known and still less appreciated. It is disputed by

several of my reviewers, one of whom goes so far as to say that "the brain has been shown to be as much as from 7 per cent. to 16 per cent., on occasion even 33 per cent., less in volume than the cranial cavity in capacity." What an outrage on common sense that any normal brain has ever been seen to fill only two-thirds of the cranial cavity! The reviewer omitted to mention what fills the remaining space. If skull and brain do not agree in conformation, of what value are all the data of cranial measurements collected by anthropologists?

The fundamental principle of the theories advanced by me is that the primary mental powers have separate centers in the brain. This question of localization of function is of the highest importance, especially to the treatment of the early stages of mental derangement before the pathological changes have too far advanced. Every brain center is so intimately connected with every other center that, unless the patient is seen at the onset of the disease, the area involved will have extended. A sound localization theory would enable us to point to the seat of the disease and to treat it as may be required; whereas to those who oppose the theory, it is all the same

whether a person be melancholic, violently maniacal, homicidal, or suffer from delusions of persecution—whether he be a kleptomaniac, a religious maniac, or fancy himself a millionaire, in every case they assume that the whole brain is affected. Unfortunately, those who do not expect to find localized areas of disease are not likely to look for them and show no inclination to examine the evidence that others put before them, hence our knowledge on this subject can make little or no progress.

With much diversity of opinion prevailing as to the most elementary problems of the functions of the brain—some declaring that the brain may be injured or diseased without any mental change taking place, some seeing only motor and sensory centers in the brain, some locating the intellect in one brain area, some in another—is it a wonder that so little advance is made in the treatment of the insane and feeble-minded? The unfit are ever increasing, and royal commissions are appointed to investigate the causes of this increase, but what is the good of all these inquiries, when those in authority are not agreed on the most fundamental question: What is the use of a brain?





## Vladimir Korolenko.

By G. H. PERRIS.

(From Temple Bar.)

**S**OME years ago there used to circulate in Russia, the censorship notwithstanding, a caricature of the great satirist, Shchedrin. It showed a man of gloomy visage caught by nightfall in the depths of a forest; and as he strode, book in hand, desperately through the maze of tree-trunks, a number of horrid phantoms pressed upon his steps. Two will-o'-the-wisps dancing in the void represented the eyes of the secret police; and even against the blackness of the night there showed the darker shadow of a gendarme. Yet the great writer never hesitated, for he saw a tiny light ahead—the first ray of sunshine, and in that hopeful gleam the silhouette of a peasant. The picture bore the inscription:

"The way is hard, but the dawn is near."

The haunted night of Russia's literary history has lasted for a hundred years, and daybreak is still but a faint gleam upon the horizon of a vast battlefield. It is a terrible tale of broken lives and tortured genius; of a passion for truth turned into devious ways, and burning the more fiercely after each penalty; a passion of sympathy bearing its witness even upon the scaffold, in the dungeon and in the ice-bound convict colony. Pushkin, Lermontov, Shevchenko, Dostoevski, Herzen, Tchernichevski, Turgeniev—they have all testimony to give in the long suit of humanity against the Czardom.

So the most obvious qualities of Russian fiction and truth and gloom—the

truth and the gloom of Shchedrin's satires, of Nekrassov's mirthless poetry, the stories of Dostoevski and Tolstoi, the psychological studies of Garshin and Tchekov, the wilder note of Peshkov—who characteristically chooses the pseudonym Gorki, "the Bitter"—and Leonidas Andreyev of "The Red Laugh." Humor is almost impossible in the national circumstances, and there has been no second Gogol. The free play of critical thought around the forms of public life being out of the question, the irrepressible mind, driven in upon itself, has taken refuge in a minute, sometimes a merciless, sometimes a morbid, analysis of moral and intellectual experience. Writers and readers belonged to an intelligent class relatively small in numbers, relatively poor, but often highly instructed and endowed, shut out of many of the activities in which the energy of the intelligent classes in other countries is dissipated, and therefore more feverishly independent and curious in the only sphere where it enjoyed liberty.

In these limiting circumstances may be found an explanation of the comparative rarity of the great large-scale romance and the frequency of the great short story in recent Russian literature. Hence, too, a certain lack of calmness, impartiality and breadth of vision. It is strenuous, unresting, evidently made for food rather than amusement. It is uncompromisingly frank, and, as the comfortable subscriber to Mudie's will say, terribly realistic. It has always, from Pushkin down to the author of "What

is Art?" set before itself an aim and test of social utility; and in particular it has always held the aim in realizing, for the small class of the *intelligentia*, in all its manifold variety and potential wealth, the life of the far-removed masses of the Russian peoples. With the achievement of national freedom the national literature will gradually assume a broader and more temperate character; as it stands hitherto, it will live not only for its specific qualities but as an eloquent witness of the boldness, tenderness and vigor of the Russian mind in the days of its imprisonment.

It may be that we shall be able—since at fifty-three he is enjoying his full powers—to regard Vladimir Korolenko as a link between these two periods. He has suffered and his work has suffered from the conditions of life under the last three Czars. His stories are generally short sketches of peasant and student life; they are realistic, analytic. But they belong rather to the school of Turgenev than that of Tolstoi and Dostoevski. If they lack the positive and active spirit which we demand in our own novelists as in our playwrights, it is because of the receptivity that so frequently gives an air of indefiniteness to Russian thought; and they are full of the gentleness which is an allied national characteristic, that larger sympathy of which Dostoevski said:

"We have one trait widely different from anything in the European—a high capacity for synthesis, a talent for a universal reconciliation, an all-humanity. There is nothing in us like the European angularity—no impermeability, no stiffness. Our character easily accommodates itself to everybody, adapts itself to every kind of life. It sympathizes with everything that is human, without any distinction of nationality, blood or soil. It finds out and immediately admits to be reasonable whatever may contain but a grain of all-human interest. It is possessed by a sort of instinct of all-humanity. At the same time you may observe in a Russian an unlimited capacity for the soundest self-criticism, the soberest judgment

of himself, and a complete absence of self-assertion which is sometimes prejudicial to freedom of action."

Korolenko's life and work are an excellent illustration of this thesis.

He was born in 1853, in Jitomir, a largely Jewish town in the province of Volynia. On his father's side he was descended from an old Cossack family, on his mother's from the Polish nobility; and this double inheritance, together with his childish recollections of life in the southwestern provinces, is clearly reflected in the scenes, persons and style of several of his writings, especially the beautiful and pathetic story "Bad Company." Completing the course of studies in the technical school of the neighboring town of Rovno in 1870, he entered the Technological Institute of St. Petersburg. For two years he lived the life of a hungry student. Having no scholarship, and receiving no help from home (his parents were dead), he had to subsist upon occasional earnings by copying and correcting manuscripts.

It was a pregnant and exciting time. The revolutionary spirit, which has now extended to all classes of the nation, had flashed out for the first time among the elder university students in the great cities of Russia. Hundreds of generous young men and women of gentle birth were going among the workmen and the peasants, in the first place to give them the rudiments of education, and then to arouse them to struggle for public and personal liberty.

In this movement, whose barbarous suppression led to the more violent episodes culminating in the assassination of Alexander II., Korolenko took only the most innocent part. In 1872 he gained a scholarship in the Petrovska-Rasumovska Academy, from which he was soon expelled for participating in a students' demonstration. He was ordered to be exiled to the province of Vologda, but was stopped and brought back and placed under observation in his lodgings in Cronstadt. After this we see him in the capital without any definite position, making a difficult livelihood by correcting manuscripts and burning the midnight

oil over his own first literary efforts. These resulted in a series of sketches, published in 1879, under the title "Episodes in the Life of a Searcher." These earliest writings were not, however, included in the subsequent edition of his "Sketches and Stories."

The government was now striking out unmercifully at any expression of liberal opinion, and Korolenko suffered among the thousands of others. He was exiled first to two small places in the north European province of Viatka, and then to Perm in Western Siberia. In 1881 he was called upon, like other exiles who were only suffering a mild measure of surveillance, to swear allegiance to the new Czar, Alexander III., and refusing, was marched off to one of the most desolate spots on the River Aldan in the sub-Arctic province of Yakutsk. In this dreary solitude, living in a native hut and maintaining himself by the roughest labor, the pen saved him from despair and decay. In these apparently hopeless surroundings he found himself as artist and thinker—to what effect "Makar's Dream," "The Saghalien Convict" and "Marussia" testify; and when, three years later, he was allowed to return and to settle down in Nijni Novgorod, he soon reached a foremost place in the circle of living Russian writers.

It was not at Nijni, but in the home of a political exile in London that I met him in 1893, then a handsome and robust figure, with keen dark eyes and a shock of crisp black hair. Later on he succeeded Mikhailovski as editor of one of the chief Liberal reviews, enjoyed an accepted leadership in literary society and took a gentle but influential part in the movement among the professional classes in support of the general demand for personal and public liberty which began in the autumn of 1904.

His love of nature and the humble folk who live very near to the earth-mother, his deep feeling for truth and justice are shown throughout his work; and his sense of the need of a wise and patient altruism is worked out in the larger stories both in personal and social applications.

In "The Blind Musician" he offers us

a minute study of a mind whose chief channel of communication with the outer world has been completely blocked from birth. The problem here is a purely individual one; and the intensity and command of detail with which it is described give it a terrible reality. One mental condition merges gradually into another. The fresh idealistic stage is followed—when the first collision with the pre-occupied and seemingly heartless world brings about the collapse of this egoistic Paradise—by black despair; and here some of Korolenko's eminent countrymen would have left it. But for blind Petrik there is a third mood. A state of "balanced melancholy" had succeeded to the early smart, and this in turn had deepened into the utter wretchedness and despair of baffled egoism. Where, however, love fails to touch this deep-seated disease, the appreciation of a deeper misfortune succeeds; and a solution at once moral and artistic is obtained.

"In Two Moods" is not without an equal significance for the individual; but it has also a broader interest as a study in the psychology of a movement—the early phase of revolt commonly though inaccurately called Nihilism. Gavrik is no mere lay figure; but he is not too strongly individualized to stand for a type. The tragic death of a fellow-student strikes a dividing line between two characteristic periods of youthful experience. The first is a dreamland of vast aspirations and enterprises, honest and generous, but also undefined and untried.

"We were to develop into something quite special—altogether new and exceptional people. \* \* \* I merely dreamt that in me and my fellow-students there existed, as it were, buds wherein lay hidden, and ready to unfold and come forth, the bright future, the full, new life."

Nature breaks in upon the childish comedy in her sharp, unceremonious way. Suicide makes a horrible sight, before which the inexperienced brain staggers. Is life and all its loves, sufferings, thoughts, resolvable, then, into mere physical processes, all ended when a single cog in the complex machine is broken? The familiar old questions succeed, albeit

in a newly real form. Every phase of self-complacent pessimism is mercilessly analyzed; Gavrik becomes more and more isolated, and the horror deepens till, having repelled his friends and insulted his girl-lover, a climax is reached. Then the spell is suddenly broken; to the blind eyes sight is at length given. Happily there is a contagion of self-sacrifice.

"Now I have faith—first of all in her, next in humanity. And beyond these glimmers the dawn of yet other faiths. This is the golden cloud of a new mood; into whatever shape it may unfold, my heart tells me that at least it will be life."

But Korolenko is at least as great in his pictorial art as in his psychology. In these two leading characters it may be said that we have mental types rather than beings of flesh and blood; but in the shorter stories the actors have generally distinct and sometimes vivid personalities. An astonishing wealth of impressionist material is expended upon these sketches; yet there are so many charming touches that we witness the kaleidoscopic review without a moment of weariness.

"Makar's Dream" is one of the most delightful fables ever penned. Poor drunken old Makar is kicked out of the gin shop of the Yakut village where he drags on a half-savage existence—kicked out into the snow on Christmas Eve. He staggers home, and, packed off to bed with a clout by his angry wife, falls into a feverish dream. He is out again upon the vast snow-bound prairie, intent on robbing his neighbors' fox-traps.

"The moon has sunk lower in the sky. A whitish cloud in the zenith shines with phosphorescent light; this grows and expands. Suddenly it bursts asunder; many-colored flames shoot forth, leaping across the half-circle of cloud which looks blacker from the contrast.

"The path winds between low shrubs. Right and left rise a row of hills. The trees grow taller as he drives on, and the underwood becomes more thick and tangled. A mystery seems to hang over the boundless taiga. The bare branches of the trees are covered with silvery

hoar-frost. Makar stops his horse, for he has reached the spot where all the traps are laid."

But his poaching is frustrated by a neighbor on the same mission bent. They fight, and Makar is again thrown into the snow. He looks for the church steeple, but cannot see it. He is lost, as well as tired out.

"The taiga was as still as death. A white hare ran across the road, sat down on her hind legs, moved her long ears and began to wash her face, winking at Makar, and making mouths at him. \* \* \* His heart grew heavy. The branches struck him in the face, and the trees stretched out long twigs to catch him by the hair and hit him in the eyes and cheeks. The prairie became alive; partridges came out of their holes and stared at him with their round eyes, and ptarmigan rushed about with outspread wings, chattering angrily, and telling their wives about him and his tricks. Thousands of foxes peeped out of the thicket, sniffing the air, moving their ears and looking scornfully at Makar. The hares sat on their hind legs and giggled as they told each other his adventures.

"I am lost! thought Makar, as he lay down on the snow. The frost increased. The last flames of the Aurora played in the sky. A few sounds came floating through the air from the distant village, and then ceased.

"Makar had died. \* \* \*

"He knew that he was dead, and remained lying motionless till he grew tired of it. It was quite dark when Makar felt something touching his feet. \* \* \*

"The old priest Ivan was standing by his side and gently kicking him. There was snow on his long robe and on his fur cap, on his shoulders and on his long beard. But what struck Makar most was that this apparition was evidently the identical priest who died four years ago! He had been good natured and kind-hearted during his lifetime, never troubling his parishioners about the tithes and his fees \* \* \* never angry, even perfectly happy provided he got his bottle of spirits. \* \* \* And at this moment

Father Ivan was standing before Makar, and poking him with his foot saying, 'Get up Makarushko! Get up and come along with me.'

"Where to," asked Makar, sulkily.

"Let us go to the Great Taion" (i. e. the chief or master; a Yakut word).

"And why should I go to him?" retorted Makar.

"To be judged," said the priest, somewhat sadly and in a deprecating tone.

"Then Makar remembered that he was expected to appear at a judgment after his death. He had heard it in church. There was no help for it; the priest was right, and he got up grumbling that there was no rest for a body even after death."

On the long journey they meet many strange pilgrims.

"A gloomy murderer slunk past. \* \* \* The souls of children fluttered in the air like little birds."

At last they come to the house of the Great Taion. Young men-servants in long white shirts are passing in and out.

"Makar was much struck by the fact that each lad had two large white wings folded on his back, and he said to himself that the Taion must have other servants than these, because it is impossible to cut wood in the thicket with such a pair of wings."

The reputation of Makar's village is particularly bad, and a specially large pair of scales is brought in.

"Makar immediately went up to see that the scales were in order. He did not understand them at all, and would have preferred another balance with which he was well acquainted."

When the Taion came in Makar was at first very downhearted, because he suddenly remembered his whole life down to the slightest incidents. But the old man's kind face comforted him, and then he began to hope to hide some of his evil deeds. When he has made the best of his good works, the list of his sins is read out by Father Ivan.

"He has cheated 21,993 times and drunk four hundred bottles of brandy. And as he read Makar saw the wooden scale going down and down; and, drawing near, he tried secretly to keep it up

with his feet. But one of the serving-men caught him in the act."

This cheating angered the Taion, who sentenced Makar to become one of the horses of the church elder, reported to be the cruellest master in the village, and to draw the police-constable's carriage till he could work no more.

But at this point the Taion's Son entered, and asked that poor Makar might be allowed to speak for himself.

"And then something wonderful happened. Makar, who in all his life had never been able to say ten words, had suddenly become eloquent. He was no longer afraid, and the old Taion who had been angry at first listened to him wonderingly. The priest tried to keep him quiet, and pulled him by his coat tails, but Makar shook him off impatiently. Presently the priest was listening with a pleased smile to his parishioner's speech, and he saw that the old Taion liked it too. And the serving-men in their white robes and wings came running to the door and listened wonderingly to Makar's speech."

So the story culminates and concludes with the rebellious outpourings of the peasant's despairing heart and the merciful tears of his judge. The justice which earth refused he finds in this moment of tardy revolt. All the mixed shrewdness and stupidity, the generosity, and sloth, and ignorance, the little shiftiness and great honesty of the Mujik, are in the picture, the cruelty and beauty of nature, the cruelty and nobility of man. Withal, there is a warm humor, a tone of energy and health and hope, that add to Korolenko's Slav characteristics a distinct new note, a new message to young Russia. \* \* \*

Korolenko has done much of the more substantial kind of journalistic work, and has written several volumes on social subjects. In "The Year of Famine" he describes a journey through the districts affected by famine in 1894, and also his connection with a well-known case in which a man, whom he vigorously defended, was charged with "ritual murder." More recently he visited Kishiniev



and described one of the periodical massacres of Jews in that unhappy town.

A complete collection of his works is still wanted; his admirers must be content with three small volumes of "Sketches and Stories" and a few separate publications. He occupies in his own country an honored and influential position. He has not established any new school either of thought or style;

but through much labor and suffering he has preserved a rare and most delicate charm, a steady faith in his own people, in their undeveloped power, a tender pity for all maimed and tortured souls, a calm assurance that only in the pursuit of truth and justice can permanent satisfaction be found. It is a noble creed, and rarely in our day has it received more beautiful expression.

## OUT OF HEARING.

By JANE BARLOW.

(From the Academy.)

No need to hush the children for her  
sake,  
Or fear their play:  
She will not wake, my grief, she will not  
wake.  
'Tis the long sleep, the deep long sleep  
she'll take,  
Betide what may.

No need to hush the children for her  
sake,  
Even if their glee could yet again out-  
break  
So loud and gay,  
She will not wake, my grief, she will not  
wake.

But sorrow a thought have they of merry-  
make  
This many a day:  
No need to hush the children. For her  
sake  
So still they bide and sad, her heart would  
ache  
At their dismay.

She will not wake, my grief, she will not  
wake  
To bid them laugh, and if some angel  
spake,  
Small heed they'd pay.  
No need to hush the children for her  
sake;  
She will not wake, my grief, she will not  
wake.

## Reminiscences of a Diplomatist.

### PART IV.

#### St. Petersburg Before the Crimean War.

(From the Cornhill Magazine.)

**T**HE French Emperor's interference in the Orient was at first limited to the proffer of advice to the Porte to resist Russia. This indirect opposition to Nicholas, being unaccompanied by diplomatic pressure at St. Petersburg, was not in itself calculated to disturb the relations of the two sovereigns. But the Czar's feelings as a representative of "Legitimate" monarchy drove him to a move which Napoleon could not quite forgive. The suggestion was made in Vienna that the first letter of the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian crowned inheritors of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong" to the French "Usurper" should begin, not with the customary *Sire, mon frere*, but with the single word *Sire*, a novelty which struck Nicholas as being too strong, and he therefore improved it up to *Sire et bon ami*. As the letter thus addressed covered the new credentials of the Russian Minister in Paris, a refusal to accept it would have caused a diplomatic rupture, whereupon Napoleon pocketed the snub without remark. The digestion of his modicum of humble pie was in fact harmless, for Francis Joseph and Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, truckling at the last moment, entitled the Man of December "brother," as etiquette prescribed. Napoleon's civil and military milieu, Persigny (known as "Fialin") perhaps excepted, strongly combated the entente with the traditional enemy of their country, and made no secret of their objections, thereby bringing themselves into

complete harmony with tout Paris. To talk of "public opinion" in St. Petersburg would be to misuse language: the nobility held their tongues when the Danubian Principalities were invaded. Nesselrode, though always giving his master's orders literal execution, and defending them with great adroitness, was believed to be personally opposed to a forward policy, of which the Chancellor's subordinate, M. de Senavine, and the youthful Admiral and Grand Duke Constantine, were believed to be unflagging instigators.

Let me observe here that, according to evidence now available, Windsor Castle took the question how Madinet ought to be addressed more lightly than the three anointed Courts. The allocution *mon frere* was treated as harmless, and the numeral III. after the name Napoleon was accepted with a reserve, it is true, suggested by a somewhat pedantic interpretation of the language relative to the recognition of the new king of France employed in the Treaty of Vienna. Perhaps the descent of Austria, Prussia and Russia may have been inspired by their knowledge, obtained, of course, from their advisers, of the conflict called in books "The War of the Etceteras," due to the carelessness of John Casimir of Poland, who, in writing to Karl Gustav of Sweden, neglected to embellish the address with the proper number of &c.'s.

Goethe discovered from his map that St. Petersburg, with its numerous wa-

terways, must resemble Venice. I cannot say that the Neva ever recalled the Canal Grande to my mind, or that the Kammeny Ostrof or the Jelagin Ostrof struck me as being like Murano or the Lido. Those islands, and others in the northern branches of the river, were much frequented in the summer time by the inhabitants of the metropolis. When not flooded by inundations their surfaces presented here and there landscapes of fields fringed by park-like woods of pine and birch, dotted with small wooden country residences and bungalows of the datscha type, among which stood in places more pretentious houses, and, of course, here and there a palace supplementary to the Peterhof-Pavlovsky series already noticed. An afternoon would be well spent when one told the kucher (or, if one had economical habits, the *istvostchik*) to drive one to a datscha, where one could get out to visit a friend, who would immediately offer one a papiros and its inevitable Russian accompaniment, "the cup that cheers but not inebriates." The Seymours removed from the Legation in the warm weather time to a tolerably comfortable house in a garden, with flowers hardly coming up, I suppose, to Count Nesselrode's ideas of horticultural perfection. The cookery was as choice as ever, and the *poulet chasseur* and *charlotte russe* were the more enjoyable because, agreeably to the sensible off-season foreign rule, you were not expected to sit down to dinner in complete dress-clothes costume. The English commandment to the male sex, to prolong their potations for the benefit of the three-bottle man, never infected the continentals—it was disregarded by Sir Hamilton and Lady Seymour in town and in the country: after the dessert had been taken round, you gave your fair neighbor your arm and adjourned to the grass.

The juxtaposition of the Legation house to the wide quadrangular space close to the English Quay with the curved annex opposite the Winter Palace, on which stood the cordon of official buildings previously described, made the flat so kindly lent me by the Napiers an ideal position for the sightseer. Two minutes' walk

from my downstairs workshop would bring me to the side front of the Admiralty, and if, instead of still keeping along the river, I made a sharp twist to the right, I reached the Cathedral of the Holy Isaac, in those days still unfinished. This enormous construction is not a deteriorated example of the bulbous Mongolian-Byzantine style found in Moscow and elsewhere in the empire; what its French designer had in his head was a combination of St. Peter's and the Pantheon. His work, as completed by his successors, is a striking assemblage of marble steps and columns of red granite and basalt, with bronze plinths and capitals, leading through bronze doors into a nave topped by an enormous dome decorated with paintings and encrustations of malachite and metal. When Marcus Agrippa built his Pantheon he was satisfied with a single portico: M. de Monferrand's soaring ambition led him to plan four pillared entrances to his church, three of which are exact replicas of the Roman masterpiece, while the gilded roof and the dome, with its fourfold cluster of guardian belfries and cupolas of glittering metal, were carried to heights almost unique in the European architectural record.

An amazing feature of the interior is the *Ikonostasis*, or screen of sacred figures. All over Russia, in the open street, in a house or shop or place of entertainment, in the foul underground drinking den, there will be an *Ikon*, presenting a painting of the Virgin or the Holy Child, and the devotional objects of this species are not always fixtures. In the great cathedral of the capital stands an *Ikonostasis* with pictures of saints adorned with medallions and enshrined in splendors of bronze, mosaic, malachite, lapis-lazuli, and ultramarine, supported by adjuncts of white marble and silver mountings, all lighted by golden candelabra and chandeliers. The ordinary requirements of *Ikon* worship are met if the noble lifts his hat to the symbol, or the *mujik* his cap. But before holy images like those of the Isaac Church ladies of rank and generals in full uniform throw themselves down and

rub their foreheads on the pavement. Their pious calisthenics are not necessarily evoked by ebullitions of inward spiritual feeling.

In Russia the word "Hermitage" has various incompatible meanings: it may signify a Volksgarten, or Cremorne, or a rustic dining villa, or portions of the Winter Palace, or the great edifice erected by Nicholas I. for the Imperial collections, in which last sense I use it. In art, one generation's meat is another generation's poison, and owing to the changes in European pictorial taste, added to other reasons, the Hermitage has its gaps and also its over-doses of supply. The "primitives," for instance, can hardly be found on the walls, while a lion's share of room is taken by the academical "mannerists" and "eclectics," for whom we moderns do not much care. A little arithmetic will illustrate the difference, considerations of quality excluded, between the Russian collection and Trafalgar Square.

According to my figures, the numerical ratio of the genuine pictures by the artists named in the Hermitage and the National Gallery respectively, is as follows: Rembrandt, 41 to 17; Teniers, 39 to 12; Snyders, 13 to 1; Rubens, 50 to 15; Vandyck, 34 to 9; Murillo, 22 to 5; Titian, 14 to 5. In some of these instances our inferior position may be traced to our stupid tolerance of the wholesale exportation of works of art, an abominable custom no longer permitted in sensible Italy. Why do the autocrat's Vandycks overshadow ours in quantity and quality? Because a check for £40,000 from the Empress Catharine induced the Walpole family to sell the matchless Houghton collection of the great Fleming's portraits, one of which, when lately sent to London for exhibition, was hailed as a marvel of its class.

One day my comrade Lumley—an amateur draughtsman of unusual skill, and a useful art chaperon—took me up to that gem of ideal conception, Raphael's "St. George and the Dragon." This exquisite little panel was painted by the young Santi in his Umbrian period, on commission for the Duca d'Urbino, who sent it

to our Henry VII. in return for the Order of the Garter. How did this English treasure reach the Neva? The sad answer is this. After the execution of Charles I., the Parliament, to whom painting was a sin against God, ordered the sale of that keen royal connoisseur's splendid gallery for a mess of pottage, an iniquity, by the way, not approved by Cromwell. My comrade's denunciation of this vile Puritan sin ended, we approached the Madonna of the "Casa d'Alba." The masterful rendering of form, light and shade, and maternal love in this little idyll of beauty has made our latest English authority on Raphael call it a prelude to the "Seggiola," and even place it, in spite of its minor size, by the side of the commanding "Sistine" Madonna. My sarcastic suggestion that the movements of the sweet children round the holy parent had probably inspired "Mr." Ruskin with his astounding denunciation of "the kicking gracefulnesses of Raphael," was enjoyed by my comrade, who, breaking into "strange oaths" levelled at the author of "Modern Painters," led me up to other treasures of the Gallery.

The Cook's tourist visiting Dresden will hardly look at Rembrandt's renderings of biblical and bourgeois themes, but he stands bewitched before the canvas on which the apostle of chiaroscuro has drawn himself and his beautiful wife Saskia sitting on his knee, while he laughs and holds up a glass of champagne. If this picture proves that there were, or at least might have been, two Rembrandts in the field, the "Danae" of the Hermitage, makes this idea a certainty. As a competent critic has observed, the voluptuous "Danae" shows that sustained practice in this direction would have brought Rembrandt into rivalry with Titian as a colorist and painter of the carnal seductive.

In the Hermitage, no less a magician than Paul Veronese also appears in an unfamiliar attitude. Turning his back on his usual festive, aristocratic renderings of biblical scenes, with their embarras de richesses of the architectural gorgeous, on his voluptuous women and

costumed grantees, and his favorite apparatus of dogs, cats and monkeys, the great artist here gives a spiritually inspired version of the awful solemnity of the "Entombment." Titian may not be here up to his Venice and Madrid mark, but the Gallery can boast of the original of his "Paul III." a portrait well known from its many replicas, exhibiting with unsurpassed vitality, as far as the body could show it, the psychological nature of that notable Pontiff. At present, thanks to Morelli, Giorgione has, to use Dante's remark on his friend Giotto, il grido, so that special interest attaches to the "Judith" of the Hermitage, catalogued with the name of that artist.

As St. Petersburg is a long way off, almost every foreigner who writes of the pictures of that capital—conscientious Germans, like Springer, not excepted—is satisfied with a second-hand guesswork knowledge of his subject, and Morelli, in somewhat arbitrary fashion, questions the authenticity of the "Judith," which figures on his list of the Giorgiones outside Italy with a note of interrogation. I wish some of our feuilletonists, interrupting for a day or two their drench of paragraphs on Rodin and Velasquez, now so much in fashion, would explain how it came to pass that when the illustrious Italian broke the ice of his new departure in objective art criticism, he assumed the Russian pseudonym Ivan Lermolieff.

Of sufficient universality in the museum half of the Hermitage, Russia has had no Elgin or Layard, and she looked on when a German carried off the "Gigantomachia" of Pergamos to Berlin. However, in the Hermitage, besides the unequalled Scythian and Siberian finds, the remains of Greek, Medieval and Renaissance archaeological developments are fully sampled, as well as the achievements of humanity, useful and ornamental, in the domain of the arts and crafts. After a sarcophagus of a Pharaoh and a crowd of busts, statues and amphoras of the Attic period, you encounter a labyrinth of vases, candelabra, bowls, plaques, coins and endless other objects of the precious metals, niello, enamel and amber, the inevitable jasper and malachite

being, of course, largely displayed. There is no deficiency of china or embroidered stuffs, and the glyptic treasures fill many trays. One longs to steal the historic carved sardonix worn by Josephine, known as the Malmaison cameo, and when one has seen fans, rings and bracelets, usque ad nauseam, then comes a huge silver wine cistern of notable design, which, strange to say, is stamped with the English hall-mark.

Here let me say that the story of my comrade Lumley's energies as an art collector is told by the works of Vandyck, Murillo, Teniers, Greuze, and other great masters which hang on the walls of that romantic royal resort, Rufford Abbey, which fell to him at the close of his official career, and also in the National Gallery, where, however, his gift of fifty-nine copies of pictures of Velasquez in the Madrid Prado, and of the forty Rembrandts in the Hermitage, being placed underground, is less known than the "Christ at the Column" by the Spaniard, and the Van de Velde, Netscher, and other masterpieces presented by him. The extensive results of the excavations of Civita Lavinia and other Italian sites conducted by him at his own expense when Ambassador at Rome, and of his discovery of the Villa of Marcus Aurelius, are well to the front in the British Museum, and in the civic collections of Leeds and Nottingham.

The St. Petersburg street, if of large measurements, like the Nevsky or the Liteiny, is called a prospekt, if of secondary rank ulitza. For some unintelligible reason travelers marvel at the Nevsky prospekt because it is over four versts, say three and a quarter miles, in length. But there is nothing to wonder at in the fact that, instead of calling a line of traffic as long as the distance from the Marble Arch to the Poultry by half a dozen names, Czardom has given the central avenue of the capital a single appellation. The streets named are hardly comparable to their equivalents in the great cities of western Europe—they are jumbles of the magnificent and the mean. The Generalstab end of the broad Nevsky is imposing enough, but the dignity of the



situation gradually subsides, and, as the further extremity is approached, you find—it was so, at least, in my time—wooden village erections with shanties and stalls, with here and there cows and pigs wandering over the footways. The parallel drawn by the distinguished French historian of Russia, Rambaud, between the Nevsky and the Boulevard des Italiens has a jocular sound: neither in architecture nor in shop window displays does the Russian street reach the Parisian standard.

St. Petersburg has now a million and a half of inhabitants, but before the Crimean War the population, if my memory serves, only reached a third of that figure, so that the demand for luxurious commodities of the types required by the clientele of the houses of Marshall & Snelgrove, Redmayne, Howell & James was then very small. Your acquisition of goods of the finest class would be made in the Nevsky, but purchases were more interesting if made in the Gostinnyi Dvor (translate "quest court"), a modern edition of an old Slav bazaar system, under which a separate place of sale was allotted to foreign merchants, who were gradually ousted by natives. The great market, so to speak, of the Nevsky, with its storehouses and workrooms, is a rectangular building with about two hundred shops distinct, in which one finds dealers of every sort.

The Johnsonian "*Te veniente die, te decedente*" is no adequate motto for the habit of hourly absorption of tea special to the Russian, be he prince or mujik. The taste of the tchai of those days of western China was a revelation to the English palate; owing to increased price that incomparable growth has been largely dislodged from popular consumption by growths no better than the "Ceylon siftings" and similar blends which have expelled the historic Bohea of Pope from our own family use. In the bazaar would

be found piles of the Slav table-kettle, the samovar, with its long internal tube for ignited charcoal, a regenerative furnace by the side of which our Georgian tea-urn was a mere caloric sham. Vast were the heaps of the little apparatus for poisoning the system with the vapor of the nerve-deadening alkaloid of which, as Calverley put it, "one, or two, at most, drops make a cat a ghost"—I mean nicotine. The Russian always had a cigarette between his lips: the calibration of the northern cigarette and its Egyptian rival must be left to smokers with palates more educated than mine.

Russian fashions in the peltry branch of clothing were governed by rules as potent as the ukases of the Autocrat. The gentleman's outside winter wear must needs be a cloth cloak, reaching from hat to heels, lined with the fur of the Canadian racoon, dressed not by the raw processes of London or Leipsic, but by the scientific artifices of "little mother Moscow." The starting price asked for an ideal pelt of the *Procyon lotor* might be from £30 to £50, but by stubborn repetition of the essential otchen doroge (very dear), one might obtain a rebate of 15 or 20 per cent. For walking, the foreigner, at least, would require a coat with beaver fur lining and a collar of sea otter. The last named skin, if my information is correct, has since displaced the British Small Bear from the schuba, a revolution which has brought down the cost of that gabardine to, say, £17. For the lady of quality, the code of peltry ordained the hides called "blue," i. e. summer fox, for which the charge might be £25, unless she preferred a mulct of £300 for an investment in real Siberian sable. As to the bourgeois and his likes, they would be cloaked in the low-priced winter skins of the said vulpine beast; while the mujik, winter or summer, wore an ugly, dirty, smelly, sheepskin coat.

## Witchcraft in Literature.

By G. A. SINCLAIR.

(From the Occult Review.)

- 1 W. When shall we three meet again  
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?  
2 W. When the hurlyburly's done,  
When the battle's lost and won.  
—Macbeth, Act I., Sc. 1.

**T**HE witch has always occupied a prominent place in the realms of romance. The spells which she has cast; the curses which she has uttered, the prophecies which she has foretold have been the theme of poet and novelist alike. To trace the literary cult no farther back than the reign of that eminent demonologist James I. and VI., allusions to witchcraft will be found in the works of three minor poets of that period. In John Chalkhill's pastoral, "Thealma and Clearchus," there is a graphic description of a witch's cavern and its inmates; in his lengthy poem "Christ's Victorie and Triumph," Giles Fletcher has a sorceress, who charms unlucky wayfarers to her bower of vain delight and is in fact another Circe, whilst Edward Fairfax in his translation of Tasso's "Jerusalem" treats of Armida and her wondrous girdle, an enchantress who lures Rinaldo and the Crusaders on their way to the Holy City. Then there are the dramatists of that time.

"The Witch" of Thomas Middleton, who died eleven years after Shakespeare, is utterly worthless as a play, and is merely of interest in that it is to some extent based on "Macbeth." The MS., as it has come down to us, belonged to an eighteenth century actor, Benjamin Griffin, was first printed in 1778, and is now in the Bodleian Library. Its date is

uncertain, and this renders the question as to which author borrowed his ideas from the other a difficult one. Middleton, however, mainly on the evidence which his other dramatic works afford, and on the fact that he introduces another Hecate, a character alien to his usual style, is regarded as the imitator. The chorus of the witches in Act IV., Sc. 1., of "Macbeth,"

Double, double toil and trouble;  
Fire burn and cauldron bubble.

has its echo in Act V., Sc. ii., of "The Witch" where Hecate sings her charm song ending:

Round, around, around, about, about  
All ill come running in, all good keep out.

The remaining points of resemblance between the two tragedies need not be further elaborated. Except Hecate, Shakespeare's witches have no names; amongst those of Middleton are Hellwain, Firedrake, Puckle and Stadlin, and his Hecate has a son Firestone, who acts the part of a gross buffoon.

In 1632, at a time when the prosecutions for witchcraft were at their height, "The Witch of Edmonton" was first produced upon the stage, and attracted much attention. It is far superior to Middleton's dull play, and was the work of at least three hands, Rowley, Dekker and Ford. There is the clearest internal evidence that the authors' sympathies were on the side of the unhappy victims of the popular fury, and it is to be hoped that the consciences of the saner part of the audience were pricked by the harsh treat-

ment of Mother Sawyer. In Act II. she is seen gathering sticks in the fields near Edmonton, and her pathetic complaint admirably demonstrates the manner in which witches were made in those days.

And why on me? why should the envious world  
Thro' wall their scandalous malice upon me?

'Cause I am poor, deform'd, and ignorant,  
And like a bow buckled and bent together  
By some more strong in mischiefs than myself,

Must I for that be made a common sink  
For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues

To fall and run into? Some call me witch,  
And being ignorant of myself, they go  
About to teach me how to be one; urging  
That my bad tongue—by their bad usage  
made so—

Forspeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,

Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.

This is no exaggerated grievance. It is true that many harmless persons from having such reproaches flung at them every day of their lives actually came to believe in their own guilt, and passively accepted their fate. Old Banks, a countryman, then enters, accuses the woman of trespassing on his land, and beats her. Next several clowns and morris dancers make sport of her, until at length, like Banquo's murderer, she becomes so incensed with "the vile blows and buffets of the world," that she is reckless of what she does to spite it. She appeals to the powers of darkness, and in the manner of Faust sells her body and soul to the devil, who promises her just revenge on her enemies. Henceforward the majority of the persons in the play suffer from her evil imprecations. She is cross-examined and browbeaten by Sir Arthur Clarrington, the villain of the piece, and his friend, a pedantic justice, and finally is led off to execution amidst the howls and jeers of the whole country-side.

But we must pass on to the authors of comparatively recent times, who supply us with material of a more interesting character. Herrick, by the way, has a grim poem entitled "The Hag," which is in striking contrast to his exquisite epistles to Julia or Anthea. Tam O'Shanter is so familiar a figure that any detailed analysis of Burns's wonderful tale would

be superfluous. And yet we cannot refrain from quoting the lines descriptive of Tam's first sight of his tormentors disporting themselves among the tombstones of Kirk Alloway, which Scott rightly considered at once ludicrous and horrible, because no poet before or since his day has been daring enough to paint the devil and his vassals in such bold colors as Burns:

Warlocks and witches in a dance;  
Nae cotillion brent new frae France,  
But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, and reels,  
Put life and mettle in their heels.  
A winnock-bunker in the east,  
There sat auld Nick, in shape o' beast;  
A touseie tyke, black, grim, and large,  
To gie them music was his charge:  
He screw'd the pipes and gart them skirl,  
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl.

Another Scottish poet has written on the subject of demonology with considerable success. The story of "The Witch of Fife" by the Ettrick Shepherd is founded on popular tradition. It is a dialogue in verse between a man and his wife, who tells him of her secret doings during three nights' absence. He at first upbraids her as a witch, until she mentions her flight to Carlisle, where she and her companions

drank of the bishop's wine  
Quhill we culde drynk ne mair,

when the temptation proves too strong for the gudeman, and he agrees to accompany the voyagers on the next occasion to his own undoing, for he is caught by the bishop's servants.

There does not exist in literature a more masterly exposition of witchcraft that is to be found in Sir Walter Scott's immortal work, "Guy Mannering." Who can forget the effect which the appearance of Meg Merrilies has on the astrologer, when she enters the room where he is sitting with the Laird of Ellangowan and Dominie Sampson? There is a majestic dignity about her personality and bearing, which she does not lose with age, and which stamps her as one of the most remarkable and attractive characters in fiction. "She was, in all respects, the same witchlike figure as when we first introduced her at Ellangowan Place," writes the novelist after twenty

years and more of the narrative have passed by. "Time had grizzled her raven locks and added wrinkles to her wild features, but her height remained erect, and her activity was unimpaired." Even Dandie Dinmont, by no means a nervous person, has a wholesome dread of her, as he is careful to explain to young Bertram.

"I daresay it's nonsense, but they say she has gathered the fern-seed, and can gang ony gait she likes, like Jock-the-Giant-killer in the ballant, wi' his coat o' darkness and his shoon o' swiftiness. Ony way, she's a kind o' queen among the gipsies; \* \* \* Odd, an I had kenn'd it had been Meg Merrilies yon night at Tibb Mumps's, I wad ta'en care how I crossed her." The encounter between Meg and the half-starved Dominie when he at first attempts to exorcise her by his outlandish Latin words, but is compelled by hunger and fear to partake of the contents of the cauldron, which, by the way, is not composed of eye of newt or toe of frog, but of savory viands, is ludicrous in the extreme. Intensely moving, on the other hand, is the account of Meg's death, when shot down by Dirk Hatteraick before his capture, she reveals Bertram to the villagers as the rightful heir of Ellangowan, and atones for the curse which his misguided policy in expelling the gipsies had brought upon the former laird. The other female characters, Lucy Bertram and Julia Mannerling, are insignificant by comparison, and Meg Merrilies is undoubtedly the real heroine of the novel.

Norna of the Fitful-head in "The Pirate," although of gentler birth, is of a somewhat similar type. She is hardly less imposing in aspect and masterful in manner than Meg Merrilies. In the scene in Triptolemus Yellowley's mansion when the sibyl invokes the elements, Mordaunt is the only person who suspects that she has been carefully watching the signs of the weather; the others readily enough attribute the abatement of the tempest to Norna's charmed song. Her family had long professed to have had intercourse with the invisible world, and to have exercised supernatural powers in

that wild region, which was ruled by the ancient Jarls or Earls of Orkney, and the natives, including Magnus Troil himself, regard her with superstitious veneration. In the mainland of Scotland she would have been prosecuted as a witch, but she remains unmolested in her island retreat to work her will as Queen of the Elements. This weird tale is full of omens and portents. The visionary bard, Claud Halero, it will be remembered, mistakes Minna, whom he meets in the moonlight, for a phantom, and bids her begone—

If of good, go hence and hallow thee—  
If of ill, let the earth swallow thee—  
If thou'rt of air, let the grey mist fold  
thee—  
If of earth, let the swart mine hold thee,

and when the maiden, who has been alarmed in her sleep by the encounter beneath her window between Cleveland and Mordaunt, takes her place among the guests next morning pale and haggard, they say that she has been "struck with an evil eye."

A remedy for her malady is prescribed by Norna, who fashions a leaden heart in place of that believed to have been stolen by the malignant spirit, and this custom, according to Scott, as a cure for sickness which was attributed to a wicked spell, prevailed among the lower orders in Orkney and Shetland even to his own day. The hideous dwarf, Pacolet, is a fitting companion for Norna. Yellowley's refusal to believe that he was in fact a goblin and had been seen fleeing from the window seated upon a dragon on the ground that the latter was regarded as a fabulous animal is one of those exquisite touches of humor in which Scott's novels abound. The conversion of Norna, who at last discards her occult practices, may be satisfactory, but it is hardly convincing. When we consider the excitable character of the woman and the vehemence with which for so many years she had continued to urge her pretensions until she came to credit her own infallibility, the change comes as a surprise and there does not seem any sufficient reason for it.

There is some "witch and fairy mat-

ter," to use Carlyle's phrase, in the translations from the German, which he published in 1827. "The Runenberg" of Ludwig Tieck is a mystic tale of a huntsman, Christian, who is lured to the mountains by an evil spirit. She appears to him as a woman of surpassing beauty, and he at first successfully combats the spell which is being cast over him. He marries and settles down to peaceable pursuits when a stranger comes to the village, takes up his abode in Christian's house, and at length departs, leaving with his host a large sum of money. This treasure proves not a blessing, but a curse to Christian, who, after a year has elapsed, retains it for his own use, according to the uncanny visitor's directions. He feels anew the old longing to return to the mountains, and, as he sets out from home, he sees a man in the distance, whom he at first takes to be the stranger coming to ask for his money. "But as the form came nearer, he perceived how greatly he had been mistaken; for the features, which he had imagined known to him, melted into one another; an old woman of the utmost hideousness approached; she was clad in dirty rags; a tattered clout bound up her few gray hairs; she was limping on a crutch."

This creature discloses herself to Christian as the Woodwoman, and, as she vanishes into nothingness, the huntsman recognizes the stately form which he had long ago beheld on the Runenberg. He follows the vision, and, after two years, Elizabeth, his wife, supposing him to be dead, marries again. In the end Christian, wild and haggard in appearance, returns, carrying on his back a sack of pebbles, which he exhibits to Elizabeth with great glee as jewels. He bids farewell to his wife and child, turns away and is last seen speaking to the hideous Woodwoman, with whom he disappears. For eeriness and glamour this short tale is unsurpassable. In La Motte Fouque's story of "Aslauga's Knight" an old crone is bribed by the Bohemian champion to kidnap the fair Hildegardis after he has failed to win her hand in the lists. The woman was swarthy, and singular

to look upon; by many feats of art she had collected about her a part of the multitude returning from the tournament, and in the end had scared them all asunder in wild horror." She finds her way to the chamber of the princess, mesmerizes her, and leads her past her sleeping attendants outside the castle where horses are waiting. How Hildegardis is rescued by the gallant Knight Froda and eventually becomes the wife of the handsome Duke Edwald need not be told here.

Perhaps the most fantastic fairy tale ever written in any language is "The Golden Pot" of Ernst Hoffmann. To be fully appreciated, it must be read as a whole, and it is impossible to convey an adequate idea of its whimsicality by mere quotation. It is concerned with the sorrows of the student Anselmus, who falls under a spell and whose eccentricities convince his friends that he is either drunk or mad. Veronica, a girl of sixteen, is in love with him, and has recourse to an enchantress, Liese, who conjures up hellish spirits in the usual way, and introduces her to the magic circle. The unearthliness of the scene, the witch's frenzy and the maiden's horror, all these things are told by Hoffmann with vivid effect. Liese's schemes for the possession of Anselmus are thwarted by the necromancer, Archivarius Lindhorst, who gives the student employment as a copyist, but frequently startles him by his habit of flying out of the window in the shape of a kite and other curious pranks. Eventually Anselmus marries the gentle Serpentina, the wizard's daughter, and retires with her to the mysterious Land of Wonders, Atlantis. As a preliminary to this happy consummation, we have an absurd battle royal between the rival magicians, in which Liese's black cat and Lindhorst's gray parrot take part.

So extravagant is Hoffmann's account of this affair that it is apparent he must have been laboring under some strong mental excitement at the time, and it is not surprising to learn that the half-starved and half-tipsy author wrote his story in a garret at Dresden when



the cannon of the Allies were thundering round the walls shortly before the battle of Leipzig. Musæus in his tale of "Libussa" has a character, Fraulein Therba by name, who is said to have been as inventive as Circe in devising magic formulas and who, like Norna of the Fitfulhead, professed to command the elements, arts which she practiced for the purpose of terrorizing the people.

Shelley's conception of witchcraft is far removed from the popular notions on the subject. He uses the term in a seductive, not a repulsive, sense. "The Witch of Atlas" seems to have puzzled most of his biographers, but she is regarded by one of them, W. M. Rossetti, as the Spirit of Beauty in its widest aspect. There is certainly ample justification for this view in the stanzas devoted to the enumeration of the witch's personal charms. In the poet's imagination she appears

A lovely lady, garmented in light  
From her own beauty,

and man as well as beast come to gaze at her wondrous form. Her flights are more romantic than those usually ascribed to such supernatural beings:

She would often climb  
The steepest ladder of the crudded rock  
Up to some beaked cape of cloud sublime  
And like Arion on the dolphin's back  
Ride singing through the shoreless air.  
Oft-time  
Following the serpent lightning's winding track  
She ran upon the platform of the wind  
And laughed to hear the fireballs roar behind.

Like Tennyson's "Lady of Shalott," who lives in seclusion and weaves in her magic web what the mirror reflects, this Wizard Maiden broiders—

the pictured poesy  
Of some high tale upon her growing woof.

In each case the air of mystery and enchantment pervades the narrative, and the same may be said of Coleridge's "Christabel," where the daughter of Sir Leoline is overawed by the "shrunk serpent eyes" of the sorceress, Geraldine, whom she discovers beneath the oak in the guise of a distressed maiden, and shelters in her chamber.

And when the trance was o'er, the maid  
Paused awhile, and inly prayed,  
Then falling at the Baron's feet—  
By my mother's soul do I entreat  
That thou this woman send away!  
She said: and more she could not say  
For what she knew she could not tell  
O'er-mastered by the mighty spell.

Keats deals with similar themes in two of his poems. His "Belle Dame Sans Merci" entices the knight-at-arms to her elfin grot with her faery song, and his "Lamia" creates a palace of wonder for her Corinthian lover, Lycius. Her witchery is exposed at the wedding feast by the philosopher Apollonius, and she vanishes from sight.

In his charming romance, "The Water of the Wondrous Isles," William Morris has described the adventures of Birdalone, from the days of her captivity in the Forest of Evilshaw until at length she finds rest and contentment with her friends in the Town of Utterhay. The early part of the story is concerned with the childhood and upbringing of the heroine, who is kidnapped when an infant by a witch, one of the evil beings inhabiting the forest, "a woman tall and strong of aspect, of some thirty winters by seeming, black-haired, hook-nosed and hawk-eyed, not so fair to look on as masterful and proud." This is how she appears to the unsuspecting townsfolk of Utterhay when she wanders beyond the bounds of Evilshaw, but she assumes a different shape at home. Birdalone is set to perform menial tasks, and, as she grows into womanhood, she meditates flight. By the aid of Habundia, the wood-wife, she learns the secret of the witch's boat and escapes from her thralldom.

This elf-like creature is similar in many ways to Isoult, in Mr. Maurice Hewlett's "Forest Lovers," who also has a witch for her foster-mother. Each possesses the miraculous power of taming the birds and the beasts, and is familiar with every phase of animal life. Birdalone's fleet as the wind, and excels in swimming; Isoult leads a wild life and is well versed in country lore. The appearance of the witch Maid when she encounters Prosper le Gai, who comes to her cottage and weds Isoult in order to

save her from the gallows, is thus described: "She was terrible to view in her witless old age; her face drawn into furrows and dull as lead, her bleared eyes empty of sight or conscience and her thin hair scattered before them. It was despair, not sorrow, that Prosper read on such a face. Now she peered upon the hand-locked couple, now she parted the hair before her eyes, now slowly pointed a finger at them. Her hand shook with palsy, but she raised it up to bless them." Here we have the aged hag of tradition portrayed with all that sureness of touch and felicity of phrase for which Mr. Hewlett is so well known.

The lingering superstitions of the Wessex folk find expression in Mr. Hardy's novels. "I wonder," exclaims one of his most perfect characters, the unfortunate Mayor of Casterbridge, who speculates in corn and loses heavily, "if it can be that somebody has been roasting a waxen image of me or stirring an unholy brew to confound me!" The weather-caster, whose advice he seeks, predicts a bad harvest, and, as he does not prove a reliable authority, he upsets all Henchard's calculations. In "Under the Greenwood Tree" the heroine, Fancy Day, is unable to obtain her father's consent to her marriage with Dick Dewy and consults Elizabeth Endorfield, who is reputed to be a witch by the villagers, and prides herself upon her notoriety. But Elizabeth does not employ Satanic agency in order to assist her client in gaining her point; she is known to her intimate friends merely as a "Deep Body," who is shrewd as well as far-seeing, and the device, which is very simple and consists in setting certain persons to gossip about the alarming state of Fancy's health, and in recommending that young lady to enact the part of interesting invalid, is successful.

In this same novel, Mrs. Penny, in the presence of her henpecked husband, tells her friends how she sate up one Midsummer eve to see whether her lover, John Wildway, would come and claim her as his bride. She proceeds with her narrative thus: "I put the bread-and-cheese and cider quite ready, as the witch's book ordered, and I opened the door, and I waited till the clock struck twelve, my nerves all alive, and so distinct that I could feel every one of 'em twitching like bell wires." The person who did enter was not Wildway, but poor Mr. Penny, "a little small man with a shoemaker's apron on," and we are led to believe that the good woman accepted him simply because fate had willed it so.

This practice is also resorted to by the village girls in "The Woodlanders," who attempt a midnight incantation for the purpose of finding out their future husbands. The pin-pricking incident in "The Return of the Native" is the survival of a barbarous custom. The principal character, Eustacia Vye, owing to her habit of nocturnal wandering and strange demeanor, is suspected by a peasant woman, Susan Nunsuch, of bewitching her children, and is subjected to the disagreeable experience of having a long stocking needle thrust into her arm at church during the service. Egdon Heath is perhaps the finest descriptive piece in the works of this great novelist, and the turf-cutters' mad dance round the bonfire on that dreary tract is reminiscent of some wild demoniac frolic. "They ought not to do it, how the vankers do fly! 'tis tempting the Wicked One, 'tis," is the comment of the half-witted Christian Cantle, who lives in mortal dread of evil spirits, and, so powerfully is the scene depicted, that we hardly wonder at his fear.



## Declining Birth Rate and Malthusianism.

By JAMES W. BARCLAY.

(From the Nineteenth Century and After.)

**A** CENTURY ago sociologists and others were greatly exercised, by what they considered the excessive birth rate that then prevailed among the people of England, which, they asserted, necessarily doomed the masses to chronic poverty and want. To-day dignitaries of the church and of the state, both at home and abroad, lament the decreasing birth rate, as proof of a moral and physical degeneration that calls for general reprobation, and menaces the future of the Anglo-Saxon race. Our purpose is to examine the grounds for either the one apprehension or the other, and to invite a study of the natural laws that regulate the birth rate and the growth of population—a subject that has hitherto failed to attract the attention its importance demands.

In the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries want and its attendant miseries were the portion of large masses of the population. Even in good times hunger was never far from the door, while periods of actual starvation were of frequent recurrence, and bread riots from time to time gave evidence of widespread misery and discontent. Among the many remedies, more or less empirical, propounded as cures for this diseased state of the body politic, "An Essay on the Principle of Population," by Professor Malthus, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, published in 1798, met widest acceptance.

Mouths, said Malthus, multiplied by Nature's law faster than food could be produced to fill them—hence misery and want. No agrarian regulations could obviate the effect of these conflicting powers, and the only way to repair Nature's mistake was for the impoverished masses to restrict their families. This, he strenuously argued, was their duty to themselves and to posterity.

Malthus's panacea found ready acceptance among the governing and well-to-do classes. His diagnosis of the disease relieved them of responsibility for the wretched condition of their less fortunate fellows; for, if the masses suffered, they suffered by Heaven's decree, and besides were themselves the cause of their own distress. It does not appear that Malthus's advice was largely followed, but, during the greater part of last century, his arguments and doctrines were generally held to be a sound exposition of Nature's laws affecting the growth of population.

Chalmers, an eminent Scottish divine and economist, writing in 1832, declared that "An increasing population follows in the train of increasing food and at length overtakes and presses on it." "The only effectual expedient was a general principle and prudence with regard to marriages, which is for the working classes of society and them alone to put into operation." Again, "It is to a moral restraint on the numbers of mankind, and not to a physical enlargement of the

means of subsistence, that we shall be henceforth beholden for sufficiency and peace in our commonwealth." John Stuart Mill held the doctrine of Malthus to be unassailable, asserting in his "Principles of Political Economy," Book I. chap. x., that "The evidence of these propositions (the basis of Malthus's theory) is so ample and incontestable, that they may now be regarded as axiomatic." And Huxley ("Darwinia," p. 408) declares that "The conclusions of Malthus have never been disproved and never will be." Even so late as 1895 Malthus's essay was republished in a series of Economic Classics, and, judging by the recent Romanes Lecture, its doctrines still hold sway in the world of science.

To Malthus and the other economists, the laws that determine the growth of population seemed very simple, and the conclusions based upon them, irrefutable. All animals and plants, they argued—the human race being no exception—increased in geometrical ratio, while the ratio in which food could be increased was only arithmetical. Population thus increased faster than food, and therefore a chronic condition of want and misery was the inevitable outcome, which no reform of the Land Laws could obviate or prevent. Supporting these abstract conclusions by observation and experience, Malthus and Mill point to the great fecundity of plants and animals which, if their progeny reached maturity, would soon fill the whole earth. The same natural law, they said, dominated the human race. The population of the United States had doubled in twenty-five years, and the population of England, estimated by Malthus at seven millions, would in twenty-five years become fourteen millions, and in fifty years twenty-eight millions. It might be possible to double the produce of England in the first twenty-five years, but it would be impracticable to again double it in the second twenty-five, and, in consequence, the food supply would prove insufficient for the population before the end of that period.

Such, briefly stated, were the grounds

and arguments on which Malthus arraigned, what he believed to be, Nature's law affecting population, and declared that "No agrarian regulations in their utmost extent could remove the pressure of it for a single century." The only remedy was for the laboring classes to restrict their families. Hopeless indeed would be the future of the human race if amelioration could be found only in this counsel of despair, but, happily, the experience of less than a century has practically demonstrated that Malthus and his followers did not understand the laws of population, and that their conclusions are at variance with the facts.

The population of England has increased four times over since Malthus wrote, and yet the masses are now better fed, clothed, and housed than in Malthus's day, while adequate subsistence for practically an unlimited population, is more abundantly assured than at any previous period in the history of the world. In the Northwest Provinces of Canada is enough good corn land, waiting only the railway and the farmer, to yield bread for a population of more than 300 millions, while the plains of Australasia and Argentina have hardly been touched by the plow. If to the possible supplies of food from these vast areas is added the increased return obtainable by improved cultivation of the land in old settled countries, it is evident that the time is indefinitely remote when the land of the globe will prove insufficient to feed its population, even if its present rate of increase is maintained.

Thanks to the railway and the steamship, the area of the land available for subsistence has increased enormously in the last sixty years, but perhaps the actual increase in the supply of food is due as much to the greater capacity of man to produce it, as to the larger area available. In the days of Malthus, and for a generation later, the maximum quantity of wheat one man, harvesting with the sickle—the only implement then in use—could produce, did not exceed 144 bushels—a quantity sufficient for the bread of twenty-four people; now, by

the help of the self-binding reaper, the duty of one man, in producing wheat in England, is no less than 820 bushels—enough for 137 people. Thus, although the population has increased four times over, its bread is provided by two-thirds of the field laborers employed in the time of Malthus. These facts fully demonstrate that in the last two generations the measure of subsistence has largely outstripped the growth of population, and fully disprove the conclusions of Malthus and the economists who adopted them.

Although it does not bear directly on the present question, it is instructive that farmers say their harvest bill is no smaller now than in the days of old, and thus the whole saving in the cost of harvesting has been reaped by labor in the workshop and in the field. The farmer's advantage is in a shorter harvest and less risk of damage to his crop.

The laws affecting the growth of population are more varied, and their action far more complicated than Malthus supposed. The propositions that animals and plants increase in geometrical ratio while the increase of the produce of the earth is only arithmetical, and that these conflicting laws affect mankind in the same way as the lower animals, are incomplete or erroneous and misleading. In a state of nature, animals and plants do tend to increase in geometrical ratio, but in the same sense food does not increase; and there is this fundamental difference between man and the lower animals: plants and animals—civilized man alone excepted—merely appropriate the sustenance that Nature provides, and do practically nothing to increase their own food; they neither sow nor reap. But civilized man is a food-producing animal, and, given a sufficiency of land, can, as we have seen, provide food for himself and 136 others. If the acorn the squirrel hides becomes an acorn-bearing oak, or the seeds disseminated by birds germinate and produce fruit trees, it is not a case of forethought but an accident, and the outcome is an independent operation of Nature. There is thus no analogy in respect of subsistence between man and other animals.

It is, in a limited sense, true that the return from the same crop can be increased only in arithmetical ratio, and, assuming land to be in a fair state of cultivation, that the produce of the same kind of crop on the same area cannot, with our present knowledge, be profitably doubled more than once; but the population the produce of an acre will sustain, either directly or indirectly, varies greatly with the kind of crop, and the limit in a temperate climate has not yet been practically ascertained. An acre of potatoes will sustain many more than an acre of wheat, and an acre of wheat more than if the land is used for the production of beef. Market gardens in the neighborhood of Paris produce under intense cultivation crops worth £200 an acre, and, although the crop produced would not sustain the laborers employed, its value provides them with adequate subsistence. A crop raised by spade husbandry is so much greater than when the land is cultivated by the plow, that the increase will meet the greater cost of spade cultivation, and we believe that, as a general rule, the soil in a temperate climate will yield in proportion to the industry (including capital) and intelligence effectively expended in its cultivation.

It is quite true that population increases, if it does increase, in a geometrical ratio, but its growth does not depend solely on the births but also on the deaths. The difference between the two is the natural increase, and is the measure of the geometrical ratio, which thus may be very small, and the growth of population, as in France, very slow. Malthus and his followers assume that the birth rate increases with the increase of food, but the natural law is really to the opposite effect, although newly settled countries may, for other reasons than the increase of food, be for a time an exception. Doubleday, in a book entitled "*The True Law of Population*," published in 1841, advanced the proposition, that the fecundity of the human animal and of all other living beings, is in inverse proportion to the quantity of nutriment; that an underfed



population multiplies rapidly, but that all classes in comfortable circumstances are, by a physiological law, so unprolific as seldom to keep up their numbers without being recruited from the poorer class. The law may be briefly stated: In civilized countries the more severe the struggle for existence the higher the birth rate among animals or plants, and the more they are protected in that struggle the less their fertility.

"Whenever," says Doubleday, "a species or genus is endangered a corresponding effort is invariably made by Nature for its preservation and continuance by an increase of fecundity or fertility." The last efforts of Nature seem to be devoted to the maintenance of the species rather than to preservation of the individual life.

So careful of the type she seems,  
So careless of the single life.

—Tennyson.

Doubleday's book is referred to by Mill in his "Principles of Political Economy" (Book I. chap. x.), and dismissed somewhat contemptuously in a footnote. Without adducing any argument against Doubleday's theory, Mill says: "Any one who may be inclined to draw conclusions at variance with the principle of Malthus need only be invited, to look through a volume of the "Peerage," and observe the enormous families almost universal in that class, or call to mind the large families of the English clergy." We have no statistics of the families of clergymen, but it will be admitted that many of them are not exempt from a keen struggle for existence, and the following figures from Burke's "Peerage" conclusively prove that Mill's impression about the families of peers is erroneous. According to Burke, one-fourth of the peerages existing at the beginning of the last century became extinct before its close—that is, within three generations. The permanence of a peerage is of course prejudiced, by the usual restriction of the patent to the male line, but, on the other hand, at the beginning of the century there existed many collateral branches, entitled to succeed in the event of the failure of the main stem, and

these also had all died out in the male line.

Every observer of Nature must have been struck by the fact, that it is not thriving plants, growing under favorable conditions, that yield most seed, but, on the contrary, those struggling for existence under unfavorable circumstances. Again, the breeder whose success in producing fine specimens, depends largely on protecting them from any struggle for their existence, knows that the greatest difficulty he has to contend with, is the infertility of his stock, and various are the methods he adopts to harmonize, if possible, the conflicting effects of the laws of selection and of fertility.

The birth rate in Ireland was never so high as immediately after the great famine, and similar results attend the periodical famines in India. Half a million more children were born in Bengal in 1899—the year following the famine—than in 1898, and in the Northwest Provinces the births increased from 1,741,725 in 1898 to 2,255,627 in 1899, and in Banda the birth rate of 13.76 per 1,000 in 1897 advanced to 41.52 per 1,000 in 1899.

But, coming nearer home, a brief examination of the Registrar General's statistics for London shows how closely the birth rate follows Doubleday's law in accordance with the social status of a locality. The average birth rate of nine of the poorest districts of the metropolis—viz. Bermondsey, Stepney, Southwark, Shoreditch, Poplar, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Mile End, and St. George's in the East—is 35.6 per 1,000 of the population. In eight districts—viz. Islington, Hackney, St. Pancras, Wandsworth, Woolwich, Lambeth, Greenwich, and Fulham—which on the whole are better off than the previous nine, the average birth rate per 1,000 is 29; and if we take St. George's, Hanover Square, Hampstead, and Kensington as representing the wealthiest parts of London, although abject poverty prevails to some extent in these parishes, the average birth rate per 1,000 is 18.6.

A writer in the "Contemporary Review" for June last states, apparently

on the authority of Burke's "Peerage," that since 1840 thirty peers or eldest sons of peers have found wives in the United States, and of these thirteen are childless; other five have no sons, and the remaining twelve have only thirty-nine children, whereof eighteen are sons; and that of the other forty-four titled Americans (excluding wives of knights) seventeen have no child and eight only one. Thus of the seventy-four titled Americans (excluding wives of knights) thirty are childless, fourteen have only one, and the children of the seventy-four number only 107—an average of less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per family. The writer, presumably a colonial, points with satisfaction to the superior fertility of colonials, for, of the wives of twenty-three peers or eldest sons who married in the colonies four have no children, but the remaining nineteen have sixty-three, of whom twenty-nine are sons, while seventy-two colonials, wives of Englishmen with courtesy titles, or of baronets, have 203 children. The ninety-five colonial wives have thus 266 children—an average of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per family. The estimated average English family in the same period was over four, but probably the families in the corresponding classes in England were no larger than the colonial. Will President Roosevelt or the Bishop of London tell us, that the failure of the eighteen American peeresses to have heirs was willful, or deny them an eager desire to have the glory of presenting their husbands with an heir to his title?

Nature, to insure maintenance of species, has implanted deeply in woman's nature the maternal instinct, and in some cases at least, it is as powerful as that of self-preservation. It may be defeated, as suicides defeat the instinct to live, and perhaps the cases where a healthy childless wife seeks, without some special reason, more or less excusable, to evade maternity, may compare in number not very unfavorably with those of suicide. The frivolities and follies of a small section of wealthy society are not a cause of infertility, but a consequence. A wife without intellectual resources, disappointed in her maternal instincts,

seeks distraction in society that she would gladly exchange for motherhood and home.

*Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.*

Our first impression is frankly hostile to the doctrine, that births decrease with increasing abundance and comfort, and increase with growing poverty and privation. It seems at variance with the experience, that both animals and plants thrive best under favorable conditions and tend to increase in number faster than their food. But facts and figures abundantly establish Doubleday's law, and further consideration brings the conviction that the economy of Nature accords with that law. According to this law, population increases from below; the pressure is upward, and the dying out of the upper classes facilitates the rise of the lower, who again in their turn make way for successors. Society is thus a mixture of all classes, and the lower in their turn have a share in the good things of this world, while the upper, having had their share, become extinct. If population were recruited from above, by superior fertility of the higher classes, the increasing numerical weight of those above, would make the rise of those below more difficult, and society, instead of advancing, would tend to sink continuously to a lower level. If, then, Doubleday's law is well founded, it follows that the harder the struggle for existence the higher the birth rate, and the greater the well being the fewer the births.

The birth rate of a country is thus a natural and impartial test of the social condition and progress of its people.

As already pointed out, the growth of population depends on the deaths as well as on the births, and there is a mysterious relation between them. In every country in Europe where the birth rate is high, so also is the death rate, and when the death rate declines the birth rate follows; but what the connection between the two may be we cannot suggest, or even decide whether the birth rate influences the death rate, or the deaths the births. Statistics tell us only.

that the death rate begins to decline at a certain period, and that some years later the birth rate follows. We might suspect that the births would be affected by the death of infants, but comparing the death rates in decades from 1841-50 to 1891-1900 it appears that although the general death rate declined three per 1,000 of the population, there was no decrease per 1,000 births of children under one year old.

It is very remarkable that the birth rate all over Europe culminated in 1876, and, except in Russia, has declined more or less continuously ever since. In twelve of the fifteen countries of Europe (Russia not included) the statistics of which are given in the Registrar General's report for 1900 the birth rate culminated in the year 1876, and also to within a fraction in the other three. In that year the birth rate varied per 1,000 of the population from 26.2 in France to 46.3 in Hungary, while the natural increase of population—the difference between the births and deaths—varied only between

3.6 in France and 15.4 in England. In Hungary, which had the highest birth rate (46.3), the natural increase was only 9.3, showing how unsafe it is to estimate the growth of population by the births alone.

The close interdependence of the birth rate and the death rate is very clearly shown by comparing the births and deaths when the birth rate was highest and again when it was lowest. In 1876 the birth rate in the fifteen European countries averaged 35.3 per 1,000, and the death rate 23.7 per 1,000. The average natural increase was thus 11.6 per 1,000. In 1903 the average births had fallen to 29.8 and the deaths to 18.4, making the average increase of population 11.4 per 1,000. Thus while the birth rate fell 15½ per cent., the natural increase declined only 1¼ per cent.

The prevalence of war and cholera on the continent vitiates detailed comparisons based on the death rates, but the comparison of the English figures in the following table is instructive.

#### ENGLAND AND WALES.

Averages per Thousand of the Population.

	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Natural Increase.
3 years, 1838-40.....	15.6	31.3	22.4	8.9
10 " 1841-50.....	16.1	32.6	22.4	10.2
10 " 1851-60.....	16.9	34.1	22.2	11.9
10 " 1861-70.....	16.6	35.2	22.5	12.7
10 " 1871-80.....	16.2	35.4	21.4	14.0
10 " 1881-90.....	14.9	32.4	19.1	13.3
10 " 1891-1900.....	15.7	29.9	18.2	11.7
3 " 1901-1903.....	15.8	28.5	16.2	12.3
1903 .....	15.0	28.4	15.4	13.0

These figures conclusively prove that our declining birth rate gives no cause for alarm, but, on the contrary, for satisfaction, indicating as it does the growing well-being of the masses of our people; and if the Bishop of London had acquainted himself with the subject, as the gravity of his denunciation demanded, it would have been manifest to him that there was no reason for his unspeakable dismay, or ground for his imputation on the women of England, which a mere layman does not care to repeat.

Turning to the deaths, and comparing periods of five years from 1838 (when registration was introduced) to the pres-

ent time, the death rate increased up to the period 1846-50, when it culminated, and with slight exceptions has steadily declined since; but the decline was much more rapid in the later than in the earlier years.

May we not in this happy result recognize the beneficial effect on the health and well-being of the people that attended the abolition of the Corn Laws and the adoption of free trade in the period 1846-1850? The birth rate did not begin to decline till 1876, when a generation had grown up that had not suffered from the penury and want of the evil forties.

If we attempt to measure the increased well-being of different countries by the decrease in the birth rate we find that between 1876 and 1903 the improvement in England was 21 per cent., in France 18.3 per cent., in Scotland 17 per cent., in Hungary 15.3 per cent. and in the Netherlands 15 per cent.

The colonial statistics give results similar to the English. The birth rate has declined with the death rate, and although twenty-five years ago the natural increase of the population was much greater than in England (owing to the abnormal proportion of women of child-bearing age and to the change of climate and conditions of life, which we know has a stimulating effect on the fertility of both animals and plants), the growth of the population of the Australasian colonies now varies from 11.6 in Victoria to 17.7 in Western Australia, and averages for the seven colonies 14.5 per 1,000 of the population, against 13 per 1,000 in England.

A few words about Russia, which the Bishop of London holds up as an example to English women. It is the only country in Europe where the birth rate has not declined. The average birth rate for the first three years of the period, given by the Registrar General in his report for 1903, was rather under 49 per 1,000, and for the last three it slightly exceeded that figure, while the natural increase was in the first period 14.4 per 1,000 and in the latter 17.0—but the average for the whole twenty-one years was only 14.4 per 1,000. The average in England for the same period was 13.2 per 1,000. In England the population increased a unit for every 2.4 births, while in Russia a unit of increase required 3.4 births. Does not the condition of Russia support our proposition that the birth rate is a test of the social condition and progress or non-progress of a country?

Let us now summarize the conclusions to which the foregoing facts and figures, with the arguments based upon them, seem to point.

In a state of nature all animals and plants tend to increase, while subsistence does not. The inevitable outcome of these conflicting conditions is starvation. But when man, the food producer and protector, comes on the scene the conditions are essentially modified; for man can and does increase subsistence faster than population can multiply.

With abundance of food and protection in the struggle for existence, the birth rate of man and the animals he protects decreases.

Malthus's "Principles of Population" are at variance with the facts of experience, and his advice to restrict families may be safely disregarded.

The birth rate gives impartial evidence of the social condition of a country, and a declining birth rate marks the growing well-being of its people.

The birth rate does not indicate with even approximate accuracy the growth of population.

The birth rate declines with the death rate, and their close correspondence suggests the existence of a natural law that ultimately controls conception.

However great the birth rate of an old settled country may be, the natural increase of population—i. e. the difference between births and deaths—does not, on a ten years' average, exceed 15 per 1,000 of population.

In consequence of the superior fertility of the lower and comparative infertility of the higher classes, population increases from below, and thus all classes of society are mixed together and every class has in due succession a share of life's advantages and disadvantages.

Having regard to the readiness of the earth to reward man's labor with abundant subsistence, and to the decrease in births that attends growing abundance, poverty and privation are not the inevitable outcome of Nature's laws, but presumably of man's own acts and of defective social organization.

## Chopin.

By A. E. KEETON.

(From the Contemporary Review.)

### I.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, two men became rulers of musical emotion, Richard Wagner and Frédéric François Chopin. The music of the latter is the most ravishing gesture that art has yet made.—Huneker.

**I**N the baffling quality of what the American critic sums up fantastically, but withal very graphically, as a "ravishing gesture," there lies a special danger of exposing Chopin's music to caricature and sentimentalism. Nor is his individuality as a man any less subtle of analysis. Thus any one possessed of a quick musical sense, who has attempted the task of probing Chopin's psychology through his music, or vice versa, must soon have appreciated the extraordinary complexity of the two elements—so bound up together, however, that—

—parts on part depend  
Each made for each, as bodies for their  
soul,  
So as to form one true and perfect whole.

The fascinating vagaries; the fine flashes of ironical wit; the veiled, tender melancholy; the constant suspicion of an extreme delicacy, physical and moral, sometimes almost verging on hysteria; the feminine coquetry and caprice contradicted oddly enough by an equally feminine primness and asperity—as if the Polish abandon suddenly yielded to the *comme il faut* conventions of a Parisian salon; here we have a few of the hundred and one moods which can flit across one single page of Chopin's music. And what is more, all these seemingly

antagonistic attributes or defects, whichever we may please to term them, were so absolutely spontaneous and natural to his temperament that they never degenerated into mere mannerisms. To the very end of his career Chopin seems to have been wholly unable to become accustomed to himself. Never quite certain what to expect of either his heart or his brain, he dallied continuously with his moods, but studiously refrained from ever grasping one of them and following it to a logical sequence. This curiously undetermined attitude apparently caused him no annoyance.

But to the student who tries, both metaphorically and literally, to catch the elusive chromaticism of this volatile Chopin spirit, the very transience of his moods, while it makes his music what it is, heaps up stumbling blocks not to be met with in dealing with any other composer. It is as if a sculptor should endeavor to reproduce in marble some fluttering, graceful branch of flowers and foliage swaying to and fro in the breeze. In such an attempt the ever varying degrees of light and shade, the action of wind and sun upon flower and leaf never for two seconds the same, would all be hopelessly lost. And even so with our concrete methods of pen and ink investigation; but with all that, the Chopin nature, the Chopin psychology are of such an irresistible, magnetizing allurements that any close contact with them inevitably spurs one on to the ambition of seizing and conveying them as best may be in the clumsy vehicle of words.



## II.

As our knowledge of heredity clears and the mists of superstition are dispelled, there grows upon us with an ever increasing and relentless force the conviction that the creature is not made, but born.—Mendelism. R. C. Punnett.

Chopin was a clear product of heredity. But his French side, inherited from his father, has been, one ventures to think, too much overlooked. We hear much of Chopin the Pole, the Slav, but comparatively little of Chopin the Frenchman. No one has ever yet traced in a trustworthy fashion the real ancestry of the father, who is said (there is, however, but little authentic evidence in favor of the statement) to have come originally of Polish stock. Be this as it may, Nicholas Chopin was born in France, and those of us who have sojourned awhile in the French provinces have all come across his type repeatedly—a professor at some lycee, somewhat narrow in his mental horizon, but bien range, domesticated, frugal, thrifty, hard working. Chopin's meticulous exactitude in fulfilling his engagements was a trait inherited from his father; so was his aptitude as a pedagogue, the father's skill as a teacher of languages revealing itself in the son as a teacher of the piano. There was nothing Bohemian about either father or son; the latter altogether eschewed the proverbial long hair and picturesque disorder of the artist. Extremely particular as to the cut and set of his clothes, he always dressed as an ordinary gentleman, simply and well.

The national gift of music came to Chopin from his Polish mother. One says national gift, since the Poles, like the Russians, have always been noted for a love of song and dance. Chopin, though, remains the one and only Polish composer who has gained a world-wide reputation. On his romantic, emotional side also Chopin owed very much to his mother, a woman with a frail, shrinking physique and an acute sensitiveness to pleasure and pain. Reading between the lines of the few extant sketches of Madame Chopin, one gathers that she possessed in an uncommon degree the national characteristics of swift enthu-

siasm alternating with violent revulsion of feeling, and from her Chopin would seem to have derived his eminently Polish lack of contentment.

A study of Polish art leaves one with the impression that its authors never breathe fully, freely, joyously, healthily of life; and while in their emanations a woman is never an everyday being, and the love relationships of the two sexes are often represented as wild and criminal, yet the Polish artist cannot be said to put love before us bluntly under a wholly sensual aspect; he portrays it as an emotion, not as a desire. This trait, which occurs again and again in the productions of Mickiewicz, Slovacki and Krasinski, Poland's three greatest poets, was very prominent in Chopin. Thus to this day, in spite of all researches, it remains uncertain whether his love for George Sand, the culminating, dominating sentiment of his life, was of the body, or purely of the mind and spirit.

Very characteristic in this respect, again, was his expression of an earlier love for a young opera singer, Constantia Gladovska: "I have, perhaps to my misfortune, already found my ideal whom I worship, faithfully and sincerely. Six months have elapsed and I have not yet exchanged a syllable with her of whom I dream each night." A natural corollary to his personal attitude toward love is found in the absence of any note of physical passion in Chopin's music. In this respect he presents us with a complete antithesis to Wagner, let us say, who more perhaps than any other musician revelled in the musical expression of voluptuous, sexual desire and its fulfilment.

Returning for an instant to Chopin's father, students of the family history will remember that Nicholas Chopin's early years were spent at Nancy, where the offshoots of a Polish following had clustered since the days of the abdicated Stanislaus Leszczynski. A series of very ordinary events resulting from his connection with the French town took Nicholas in 1787 to Warsaw. There he spent the rest of his life, and was a witness of Poland's final annihilation as an

independent state. It is curious that Poland should have become the country of his adoption, just as later on France became the chosen home of his son. The most advanced students of heredity assure us that environment is not to be reckoned with as an appreciable factor in the development of an individual, whether physically or mentally. Yet in Chopin's case environment appears at least to have fructified certain inherited germs and instincts, which under other circumstances might well have remained dormant and unsuspected. It was not until he settled in Paris, and had become thoroughly imbued with a French atmosphere of thought and feeling, that his work began to assume the clear sense of form, and those distinctions of brilliance and perfect finish which are decidedly French rather than Polish attributes. His quality of bitter-sweet irony, in which, as a musician, he is so closely akin to Heine as a poet, also first came to efflorescence in Paris, where Heine and he must often have had an identical point of view.

### III.

Chopin's music embodies a greater variety of emotion and more genuine dramatic spirit in four pages than many operas in four hundred.—Finck.

Excepting Heine, and it may be Sappho, Chopin is the most perfect embodiment of lyrical power, properly so called, that the history of art or poetry can show.—Hueffer.

Because Chopin produced neither opera, oratorio, nor symphony, but confined himself to small lyrical forms, he has frequently been relegated to a place among the lesser composers. Nevertheless a musician who from the outset has had no hesitation as to his own vocation, and who has excelled every other in his consummate art of composing for the most complex of modern instruments, may surely, after all, be justly granted a high rank among artistic genius of the first order. Chopin, indeed, in himself, created a whole pianoforte literature, but with his own odd blending of modesty and self-esteem he remarked: "I could scarcely create a new school of piano-

forte music, seeing that there was no old one." If we only accept what is known as sonata or first movement form, with its developments of sonata, concerto, quartet, symphony, as embodying classicism in music, then of course Chopin was no classic.

But if by classicism we understand beautiful thoughts, beautifully expressed, and coming to us from a period already sufficiently remote to indicate that the world will not willingly relinquish an interest in them, then is Chopin a classic through and through in every sense of the word. Hidden under his surface whimsicalness and perverseness—his sighs and sparkles—there is always an intricate little skeleton and structure of musical form. It is true that he employed forms unpreferred by the older masters. Yet as far as purity of outline, short clear cut phrases, and a fine perception of balance and proportion are concerned, a Chopin etude, a ballade, or a mazourka is as good a model of musical form as can be cited in a Bach prelude or a Beethoven sonata. Chopin's two favorite composers, it may be added, were those classics of classics, Bach and Mozart.

Again, while much modern music, much for instance of Wagner, of Berlioz, Liszt, or the still later school of Richard Strauss and others, could have been equally well, if not better expressed in literature or painting, it is quite the reverse with Chopin. Herein he belongs wholly to the school of the older masters of (to use the cant phrase) "absolute" music. Besides this, he undoubtedly succeeded in merging into one indivisible entity the most difficult problem of a tangible medium and a poetic idea. One feels that no poem, no painting, no, nor even any other musical instrument than a piano, could so exactly express what Chopin had to say. And like a mother, proud of her child, he always exhibits the piano at its best.

As Rubinstein so finely puts it, Chopin was "The pianoforte bard, the pianoforte rhapsodist, the pianoforte mind, the pianoforte soul. Whether the spirit of this instrument breathed upon him, or

he upon it, it is difficult to say, but only an entire mingling of the two could call such compositions as his into life, Tragic, romantic, lyric, heroic, dramatic, fantastic, soulful, sweet, dreamy, brilliant, grand, simple—all possible expressions are sung by him upon this instrument in perfect beauty."

With one bound Chopin conferred upon the piano a strong and peculiar individuality all its own, and raised it to a complete equality with the orchestra. The extreme difficulties of his technique are but tributes from an all comprehending lover to the instrument's exact capacity and possibilities. Chopin was absolute monarch in his own small realm. He did not aspire to the half rule of vaster territories, a position which at once helps us considerably in the measure of his limitations and of his greatness. One noteworthy outcome of his complete technical mastery of his medium is his present widespread popularity among an obviously misunderstanding multitude. In Chopin's own day the average pianist voted his compositions unplayable. No notions of this kind withhold the modern "Examining Board" or the schoolroom miss. These ruthless interpreters emasculate his lyricism and murder his moods, but pianistically his rendition lends itself with only too much complaisance to their handling.

#### IV.

Imagine that an æolian harp possessed all the musical scales, and that the hand of an artist were to cause them all to intermingle in all sorts of fantastic embellishments, yet in such a way as to leave everywhere a deep fundamental note, and a soft continuously singing upper voice, and you will get the right idea of Chopin's playing.—Schumann.

Whether or no Chopin was a really great performer on his instrument has been a matter of much discussion. He certainly would not have fulfilled the present day requirements of the long, stereotyped programmes repeated mechanically hundreds of times in thronged concert halls. Chopin was an aristocrat to the tips of his fingers. The democracy of huge crowds, as he confessed, appalled him, intimidating and paralyzing his

every faculty. The immediate presence of only one individual to whom he felt an antipathy could wholly upset his equilibrium and prevent him from playing with any degree of ease and inspiration. And even had he wished to produce them, the big, strident effects necessary for a modern concert display before an audience of thousands would have been impossible with the light action and comparatively small tone of the pianos of his day.

But to the intimate circle of connoisseurs who occasionally surrounded him, to the Heine-de Musset-George Sand coterie, the poetry of his whole conception, the graceful evanescence of his moods as he himself interpreted them, must have been a wonderfully unique experience. Nor can our ideals of all that is best in pianoforte playing advance beyond this beautiful suggestion of intimacy afforded by his performance. When, for example, one has heard that, possibly, nearest approach of our times to Chopin—Paderewski, playing naturally in a private music room, one cannot but reject the exaggerations to which this pianist perforce resorts to fulfill the exigencies of a large concert rendering.

The most interesting traditions handed down with regard to Chopin's playing all refer to its enchanting whisper. Pages, if not volumes, have also been penned upon his tempo rubato. He himself could explain in a very simple, practical manner what he understood by this much disputed term: "Let your left hand be your conductor and only keep time; supposing that a piece lasts a given number of minutes, by all means let it be executed in just that space of time, but in its details it may continually deviate." His left hand, therefore, would keep the strictest time, whilst to his right he permitted full license to lean and sway and wind about through melody and arabesque in flowing, fluctuating, undulating curves. It may well be, too, that his Slav blood imbued him with that uncurbed, broad sense of rhythm, a heritage from the endless continuity of the Eastern steppes, to which the symmetry and evenness of our Western rhythms are en-

tirely antagonistic. It is perhaps in their jerky, cramped and angular method of dislocating the curves of his phrases that many of Chopin's would-be disciples chiefly distort his music.

## V.

He who ventures to interpret Chopin ought to have a soul strung with chords, which the gentlest breath of feeling sets in vibration, and a body of such a delicate and subtle organization as to echo with equal readiness the music of the soul.—Anon.

Like Wagner, Chopin was a sybarite. But as with his love aspirations, so with his cravings for luxury: they were ever tinged with something exceedingly spiritual. The more robust Teuton revelled in gorgeous dressing gowns, epicurean food, rich textured draperies. Chopin sought satisfaction for tastes by surrounding himself with flowers of subtle scents—violets whenever he could procure them; or when composing, he liked to dip into some exquisitely bound volume of poetry; involuntarily one contrasts this with Schubert composing his *Serenade* at the deal table of a rough country inn. Chopin desired softly tempered lights, and an environment of sympathetic persons with harmonious, well modulated voices. In his music, this all-pervading pleasure in elegance found utterance to a great extent in his passion for dainty ornament and floriture. The agreement popular with Bach and Mozart must have originated in the lack of sustaining power of those seventeenth and eighteenth century precursors of the piano, the clavichord and harpsichord.

Chopin, we know, assimilated much from Bach and Mozart, but with him the agreement, ornament, floriture, whatever we choose to call it, is only imaginable on a modern instrument with legato cantilene possibilities of tone production; and most certainly the improved pedal action of the pianoforte helped him in the evolution of his beautiful waves of tone color. Again, whereas the agreement of the earlier composers filled up gaps in their simple modulations, with Chopin it becomes an integral part of a composition, eddying and rippling in and out of

a rich network of ever-changing harmonies and softening any underlying chromatic harshness and dissonance.

Chopin was no "nature" poet. The beauties of mountain and sea affected him far less than did the discomforts of life. He dreaded quitting cities and civilization; and he never once greets us with an open air, rustic note. Even in his mazourkas, where he comes nearest to "wild flowers," he always remains the gentleman, viewing the national Polish tunes and rhythms from the standpoint of a cultured onlooker; and all must acknowledge that he embodies these reminiscences upon an instrument as far removed from peasant life as is the boudoir of a princess. This, however, in no wise detracts from the merits of the mazourkas, which are not only among Chopin's most original creations, but are to be counted among the best tone lyrics of musical literature. And how aristocratic, how courtly and majestic are the polonaises. Here Chopin well-nigh borders on the epic. If he mostly affords us utterances of a feminine type of genius, in the polonaises we get an outpouring of a masculine spirit, but it is nevertheless the spirit of his mother-made man.

Chopin delighted in frequenting balls, and declared that in one evening he often embarked upon as many as twenty flirtations. His waltzes bubble over with the effervescent excitement, now gay, now dreamy, of an assembly of young dancers, and not one of them a commonplace or ugly person, for Chopin was an idealist. Each waltz is an epitome of some phase or other of ballroom life, rarified, purified, if we will, but still with all the shimmer and rustle of silks and satins, the glitter of diamonds, the iridescence of pearls.

When we turn from the dances to the nocturnes we see Chopin from another aspect—a solitary dreamer. He is generally supposed to have taken the nocturne form from Field, the Irish pianist-composer, who spent so much of his life in Russia. Yet the term "nocturne" is older than either Field's or Chopin's day, and is met with in ancient church music. The name they would take thence; but

it is highly probable that they each borrowed an inspiration independently from one source—namely, the “dream” or “thought” songs (Doumki) of the Russian and Polish peasant girls and women, in which it is easy to trace the groundwork of the nocturne as evolved by the two composers, but by Chopin with infinitely more poetry and imagination than can be claimed for Field. One would like to particularize upon many of the nocturnes, and to dwell upon the scherzi, the ballades, or those inimitable volumes containing the preludes and the etudes.

But here it is well to pause circumspectly. The quicksands and shoals of Chopin criticism are dangerously near at hand; and there darts through one a keen pang of dissatisfaction. In a vain pursuit of the intangible Chopin spirit has one lost all hold of the composer's substance? We have indeed almost forgotten one important fact in his career, how much namely of Chopin's substance in nerve and brain energy was expended in the conscientious drudgery of a teacher. During more than half of his forty years of life this extraordinary being devoted at least four or five hours daily

to tuition; and even when combating with serious ill-health, he preferred the distasteful effort of receiving pupils and facing audiences rather than the publishing of stuff which he could easily have sold for a good price, but which he did not consider up to his standard. This enables us to realize the wonderful capacity for patient industry, the iron concentration, the strength of will and endurance underlying all his wavering moods and fantasies, and which imparted to his music, with all its delicacy, undeniable stamina and grip. Yet if we stay too long upon this or any other phase of Chopin, it may crystallize under our touch, and thereby we at once lose his true texture. Once more we make an effort to seize the Chopin spirit, and there comes to us a nuance of Verlaine—

La nuance encore  
Pas la couleur, rien que la nuance  
Oh! la nuance, seule fiancée  
Le rêve au rêve, et la flûte au cor.

Could we, for just a passing moment, amalgamate substance and nuance, we might perhaps obtain as true a perspective of Chopin as is possible away from the keyboard and without himself seated before it.





## **The End of the Age.** **On the Approaching Revolution.** **By COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.**

(From the Fortnightly Review.)

"Was there ever so much to do? Our age is a revolutionary one in the best sense of the word—not of physical, but moral revolution. Higher ideas of the social state, and of human perfection, are at work."—W. E. Channing.

"Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."—John, viii., 32.

### I.

**I**N Gospel language the age and the end of the age does not signify the end and the beginning of a century, but the end of one view of life, of one faith, of one method of social intercourse between men, and the commencement of another view of life, another faith, another method of social intercourse. In the Gospel it is said that during the transition from one age to another all kinds of calamities shall take place—treacheries, frauds, cruelties, and wars, and that owing to lawlessness love will slacken. I understand these words not as a supernatural prophecy, but as an indication that when the faith, the form of life in which men lived, is being replaced by another, when that which is outlived and old is falling off and being replaced by the new, then great disturbances, cruelties, frauds, treacheries, and every kind of lawlessness must unavoidably take place, and in consequence of this lawlessness love, the most important and necessary quality for the social life of men, must slacken. This is what is now taking place not only in Russia but in all the Christian world. In Russia it has only manifested

itself more vividly and openly, but in all Christendom the same is going on only in a concealed or latent state. I think that at present—at this very time—the life of the Christian nations is near to the limit dividing the old epoch which is ending from the new which is beginning.

I think that now at this very time that great revolution has begun which for almost 2,000 years has been preparing in all Christendom a revolution consisting in the substitution of true Christianity and founded upon it the recognition of the equality of all and of that true liberty natural to all rational beings, for a distorted Christianity and the power of one portion of mankind and the slavery of another founded upon that. The external symptoms of this I see in the strenuous struggle between classes in all nations, in the cold cruelty of the wealthy, the exasperation and despair of the poor, the insane, senseless, ever increasing armaments of all states against each other, the spread of the unrealizable teaching of socialism, dreadful in its despotism and wonderful in its superficiality; in the futility and stupidity of the idle discussions and examinations upheld as the most important mental activity called science; in the morbid depravation and emptiness of art in all its manifestations; and above all, not only the absence of any religion in the leading spheres but in the deliberate negation of all religion, and by the substitution of the legality of the oppression of the

weak by the strong, and, therefore, in the complete absence of any rational guiding principles in life.

Such are the general symptoms of the approaching revolution, or rather of that preparedness for revolution which the Christian nations have attained. The temporary historical symptoms, or the final push which must begin the revolution, is the Russo-Japanese war just terminated, and along with that the revolutionary movement which has now burst out, and never before existed, among the Russian people.

The cause of the defeat of the Russian army and fleet by the Japanese is attributed to unfortunate accidental circumstances, to the abuses of Russian statesmen, the cause of the revolutionary movement in Russia is attributed to the bad government, to the increased activity of the revolutionists; and the result of these events appears in the eyes of Russian as well as foreign politicians to consist in the weakening of Russia, in a displacement of the center of gravity in international relations, and in the alteration of the form of government of the Russian state. But I think that these events have a much more important significance. The rout of the Russian army and fleet, the rout of the Russian state organization, is not merely the rout of the army, the fleet and of the Russian state, but the symptoms of the beginning of the destruction of the Russian state. The destruction of the Russian state in its turn is, in my opinion, a sign of the beginning of the destruction of the whole of the false Christian civilization. It is the end of the old and the beginning of the new age.

That which has brought Christian nations to the position in which they now are began long ago. It began from the time when Christianity was recognized as a state religion—a state founded upon coercion, demanding for its existence complete obedience to its laws in preference to the religious law; a state unable to exist without executions, armies and wars; a state attributing almost divine authority to its rulers; a state extolling wealth and power.

And such an institution in the persons of its rulers and subjects professes to accept the Christian religion which proclaims complete equality and freedom among men, recognizes one law of God as higher than all other laws—a religion which not only repudiates all coercion, all retribution, executions, and wars, but also enjoins love to one's enemies, which extols not power and wealth, but meekness and poverty—such an institution in the persons of its heathen rulers accepted this Christian religion not in its true sense, but in that distorted form according to which the Pagan organization of life continues to be possible. Both the rulers and their counsellors in most cases completely fail to understand the essence of true Christianity, and are quite sincerely revolted against those who profess and preach Christianity in its true meaning, and with a quiet conscience they execute and banish them and forbid them to preach Christianity in its true sense. The priesthood forbids the reading of the Gospels, and arrogates to itself alone the right of explaining Holy Writ; it invents complicated sophisms justifying the impossible union of the state and Christianity, and institutes solemn rites for the hypnotization of the people. And for ages the majority of men live regarding themselves as Christians without even suspecting a hundredth part of the meaning of true Christianity.

Yet, however great was the prestige of the state, however long was the duration of its triumph, however cruelly Christianity was suppressed, it was impossible to stifle the truth once expressed which disclosed to man his soul, and constitutes the essence of Christianity. The longer such a position continued the clearer became the contradiction between the Christian teaching of meekness and love and the state—an institution of pride and coercion. The greatest dam in the world cannot retain a source of living water. The water will inevitably find a way either through the dam or by washing it away or circumventing it. It is only a question of time. So it has been with true Christianity hidden by state power. For long the state kept back the

living water, but the time has now come and Christianity is destroying the dam which restrained it, and is carrying its wreckage away with it. The external symptoms of the approach of this time at the present moment I see in the easy victory which the Japanese, almost without effort, have secured over Russia, and in those disturbances which simultaneously with this war have spread in all classes of the Russian people.

## II.

As always has been, and is the case, in regard to all defeats, so also now people attempt to explain the defeat of the Russians by the bad organization of the Russian military department, by the abuses and blunders of the commanders and so forth. But this is not the chief point. The reason of the successes of the Japanese is not so much in the bad government of Russia, nor in the bad organization of the Russian army, as in the great positive superiority of the Japanese in the military art. Japan has conquered not because the Russians are weak, but because Japan is at the present time perhaps the most powerful state in the world, both on land and on sea; and this is so, firstly, because all those technical scientific improvements which once gave predominance in strife to Christian nations over un-Christian have been assimilated by the Japanese—owing to their practical capacities and the importance they attach to the military art—much more successfully than by the Christian nations; secondly, because the Japanese are by nature braver and more indifferent to death than the Christian nations are at present; thirdly, because the warlike patriotism utterly incompatible with Christianity which has been with so much effort inculcated by Christian governments among their peoples is yet extant in all its untouched power among the Japanese; fourthly, because servilely submitting to the despotic authority of the deified Mikado, the strength of the Japanese is more concentrated and unified than the strength of those nations who have outlived their servile submission. In a word, the Jap-

anese have had and have got an enormous advantage: in that they are not Christians.

However distorted be Christianity among Christian nations it yet, however vaguely, lives in their consciousness, and men are Christians. At all events the best among them cannot devote all their mental powers to the invention and preparation of weapons of murder; cannot fail to regard martial patriotism more or less indifferently; cannot, like the Japanese, cut open their stomachs merely that they may avoid surrendering themselves as prisoners to the foe; cannot blow themselves up into the air together with the enemy as used previously to be the case. They no longer value the military virtues and military heroism as much as formerly; they respect less and less the military class; they can no longer without consciousness of insult to human dignity servilely submit to authority; and above all they, or at least the majority of them, can no longer commit murder with indifference.

In all times, even in peaceful activities inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, Christian nations could not compete with non-Christian. So it was, and continues to be, in the monetary strife with non-Christians. However badly and fallaciously Christianity may be interpreted the Christian recognizes (and the more so the more he is a Christian) that wealth is not the highest good and, therefore, he cannot devote to it all his powers, as does he who has no ideals higher than wealth, or who regards wealth as a divine blessing. The same in the sphere of non-Christian science and art; in these spheres, both of positive experimental science and of art which places pleasure as its aim, the precedence has belonged, does, and always must belong to the least Christian individuals and nations. What we see in the manifestation of peaceful activity was bound to exist all the more in that activity of war which is directly repudiated by true Christianity. It is this inevitable advantage in the military art of non-Christian over Christian nations which, given equal means of military science, has been

so unmistakably demonstrated in the brilliant victory of the Japanese over the Russians.

And it is in this inevitable and necessary superiority of non-Christian nations that lies the enormous significance of the Japanese victory.

The significance of the victory of the Japanese consists in this: that this victory has shown in the most obvious way not only to vanquished Russia, but also to the whole Christian world, all the futility of the external culture of which Christian nations were so proud; it has proved that this external culture which appeared to them to be some kind of a specially important result of the age-long efforts of Christendom is something very unimportant and so insignificant that the Japanese nation, distinguished by no specially superior spiritual qualities when it needed this culture could in a few decades assimilate all the scientific wisdom of the Christian nations, inclusive of bacteria and explosives, and could so well adapt this wisdom to practical purposes that in its adaptation to the military art, and in the military art itself—so highly valued by Christian nations—it could surpass all these nations.

For ages the Christian nations, under the pretext of self-defense, have competed in inventing the most effectual methods of destroying each other (methods immediately adopted by all their opponents), and they have made use of these methods both for the intimidation of each other and for the acquirement of every kind of advantage over uncivilized nations in Africa and Asia. And lo! among the non-Christian nations, there appears one warlike, adroit, and imitative which, having seen the danger threatening it together with other non-Christian nations, with extraordinary facility and celerity assimilated all which military superiority had given Christian nations, and became stronger than them, having understood the simple truth that if you are beaten with a stout and strong club you have to take a similar or still thicker and stronger club, and with it strike the one who strikes you. The Japanese very quickly and

easily assimilated this wisdom, and at the same time all this military science, and possessing besides all the advantages of religious despotism and patriotism, they have manifested military power which has proved stronger than the most powerful military state. The victory of the Japanese over the Russians has shown all the military states that military power is no longer in their hands, but has passed, or is soon bound to pass, into other un-Christian hands, since it is not difficult for other non-Christian nations in Asia and Africa, being oppressed by Christians, to follow the example of Japan, and having assimilated the military technics of which we are so proud, not only to free themselves, but to wipe off all the Christian states from the face of the earth.

Therefore, by the issue of this war, Christian governments are in the most obvious way brought to the necessity of still further strengthening those military preparations, whose cost has already crushed their people, and while doubling their armaments still foresee that in time the Pagan nations oppressed by them will, like the Japanese, acquire the military art and throw off their yoke and avenge themselves on them no longer by words but by bitter experience. This war has confirmed, not only for Russians, but also for all Christian nations, the simple truth that coercion can lead to nothing but the increase of calamities and suffering.

This victory has shown that, occupying themselves with the increase of their military power, Christian nations have been doing not only an evil and immoral work, but a work opposed to the Christian spirit which lives in them—a work in which they, as Christian nations, must always be excelled and beaten by non-Christian nations. This victory has shown the Christian nations that all to which their governments directed their activity has been ruinous to them, and an unnecessary exhaustion of their strength, and above all the raising up for themselves of more powerful foes among non-Christian nations. This war has proved in the most obvious way that

the power of Christian nations can in no wise lie in military power contrary to the Christian spirit, and that if the Christian nations wish to remain Christian, their efforts should be directed not at all to military power, but to something different: to such an organization of life which, flowing from the Christian teaching, will give to men the greatest welfare, not by means of rude violence, but by means of rational co-operation and love.

In this lies the great significance for the Christian world of the victory of the Japanese.

### III.

The Japanese victory has shown all Christendom the fallacy of the way along which Christian nations were, and are, advancing. To the Russian people, moreover, this war with its dreadful, senseless suffering and squandering of labor and life has shown—besides the contradiction common to all Christian nations between Christianity and coercive state organization—the dreadful danger in which they are continually placed by obeying their governments.

Without any necessity, but for some or other dark personal purposes through some or other insignificant individuals finding themselves at the head of the state, the Russian Government has thrown the nation into an insensate war, which in any case could have but evil consequences for the Russian people. Hundreds of thousands of lives are lost, the products of the people's labor are lost, the glory of Russia is lost, for those who were proud of it. Worst of all, those responsible for these atrocities, far from feeling their guilt, reproach others for all that has happened, and still remaining in their old position, may tomorrow cast the Russian people into yet worse calamities.

Every revolution begins when society has outgrown the view of life on which the existing forms of social life were founded, when the contradiction between life such as it is and life such as it should be and might be, becomes so evident to the majority that they feel the

impossibility of continuing existence under former conditions. The revolution begins in that nation wherein the greater number of men are conscious of this contradiction. As to the revolutionary methods these depend on the object toward which the revolution tends.

In 1793 the consciousness of the contradiction between the idea of the equality of men and the despotic power of kings, priesthood, nobility, and bureaucracy was felt not only by the nations suffering from oppression, but also by the best men of the ruling classes in all Christendom. But nowhere were these classes so sensitive to this inequality, and nowhere was the consciousness of the people so little stultified by servitude as in France, and therefore the revolution of 1793 began precisely in France. And the most adequate means of realizing equality naturally seemed to be to forcibly take back that which the authorities possessed, and therefore the participants of that revolution realized their aims by violence.

At the present date, 1905, the contradiction between the consciousness of the possibility and the lawfulness of free life on the one hand, and on the other of the unreason and disaster of obedience to coercive authority, arbitrarily depriving people of the product of their labor for armaments which can have no end, of authority capable at any moment of compelling nations to participate in insensate and cruel manslaughter—this contradiction is felt not only by the masses suffering from this coercion, but also by the best men of the ruling classes.

Nowhere is this contradiction felt so strongly as among the Russian people. This contradiction is felt especially strongly in the Russian nation, owing both to the insane and humiliating war into which they have been drawn by the government and to the agricultural life yet retained by the Russian people, but above all owing to the particularly vital Christian consciousness of this people. This is why I think that the revolution of 1905 having for its object the liberation of men from coercion must begin and has already begun in Russia. The means of



realizing the objects of a revolution for the freedom of men obviously must be other than that violence by which men have hitherto attempted to realize equality. The men of the great French revolution wishing to attain equality might make the mistake of thinking that equality is attainable by coercion, although it would seem evident that equality cannot be secured by coercion, as coercion is in itself the keenest manifestation of inequality. But the freedom constituting the chief aim of the present revolution cannot in any case be attained by violence.

Yet at the present the people who are producing the revolution in Russia think that the Russian revolution, having repeated all that has taken place in European revolutions with solemn funeral procession, destruction of prisons, brilliant speeches, "Allez dire a votre maitre," constitutional assemblies and so forth, they having overthrown the existing government, and having instituted constitutional monarchy or even a socialistic republic will attain the object at which the revolution aimed.

But history does not repeat itself. Violent revolution has outlived its time. All it can give men it has already given them, but at the same time it has shown what it cannot attain. The revolution now beginning in Russia among a population of 100,000,000 standing in quite a peculiar mental attitude, and taking place not in 1793 but in 1905, cannot possibly have the same objects, and be realized by the same methods, as the revolutions of sixty, eighty, a hundred years ago among German and Latin nations quite differently constituted.

The Russian agricultural nation of 100,000,000 which, as a matter of fact, means the whole nation, required not a Duma and not the grant of a certain kind of rights—the enumeration of which more than anything clearly demonstrates the absence of simple true freedom—not the substitution of one form of coercive power for another, but a true and complete freedom from all coercive power.

The signification of the revolution beginning in Russia and hanging over all

the world does not consist in the establishment of income tax or other taxes, nor in the separation of church from state, nor in the acquirement by the state of social institutions, nor in the organization of elections and the imaginary participation of the people in the ruling power, nor in the founding of the most democratic, or even socialistic republic with universal suffrage—it consists only in actual freedom.

Freedom not imaginary, but actual, is attained not by barricades nor murders, not by any kind of new institution coercively introduced, but only by the cessation of obedience to any human authority whatever.

#### IV.

The fundamental cause of the impending revolution, as of all past and future revolutions, is a religious one.

By the word religion is usually understood either certain mystical definitions of the unseen world, certain rites, a cult supporting, consoling, and inspiring men in life, or else the explanation of the origin of the universe, or moral rules of life sanctioned by divine command; but true religion is before all else the disclosure of that supreme law common to all men which at any given time affords them the greatest welfare.

Among various nations, even before the Christian teaching, there was expressed and proclaimed a supreme religious law, common to all mankind and consisting in this, that men for their welfare should live not each for himself, but each for the good of all, for the mutual service (Buddha, Isaiah, Confucius, Laotze, the Stoics). The law was proclaimed, and those who knew it could not but see all its truth and beneficence. But the customary life founded not upon mutual service but on violence had penetrated to such an extent into all institutions and habits that while people recognized the beneficence of the law of mutual service they continued to live according to the laws of violence, justifying this by the necessity of threats and retribution. It seemed to them that without threats, and without returning evil for

evil, social life was impossible. Certain people for the establishment of order and the correction of men took upon themselves the duty of applying laws, i. e. violence, and while they commanded others obeyed. But the rulers were inevitably depraved by the power they used. Then being themselves depraved instead of correcting men they transmitted to them their own depravity. Meanwhile those who obeyed were depraved by participation in the coercive actions of the rulers by the imitation of the rulers and by servile submission. One thousand nine hundred years ago Christianity appeared. Christianity confirmed with new force the law of mutual service and further explained the reasons why this law had not been fulfilled.

With extraordinary clearness the Christian teaching showed that this reason was the false idea about the lawfulness and the necessity of coercion for retribution. Having demonstrated from various sides the unlawfulness and harmfulness of retribution it showed that the greatest calamities of men proceeded from acts of violence which under the excuse of retribution are committed by some men upon others. The Christian teaching demonstrated not only the injustice but the harmfulness of vengeance, it showed that the only means of deliverance from violence is the submissive and peaceful endurance of it.

"Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, that ye resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." (Matt. v. 38-42.)

This teaching pointed out that if the judge as to the cases when force is admissible is the man who uses force, then there will be no limit to violence, and therefore that there may not be violence it is necessary that no one under any pre-

text whatsoever should use violence, especially under the most usual pretext of retribution.

This teaching confirmed the simple self-evident truth that evil cannot be abolished by evil, and that the only means of diminishing the evil of violence is abstinence from violence.

This teaching was clearly expressed and established. But the false idea of the justice of retribution as a necessary condition of human life had become so deeply rooted, and so many people did not know the Christian teaching, or knew it only in a distorted form, that those who had accepted the law of Jesus yet continued to live according to the law of violence. The leaders of the Christian world thought that it was possible to accept the teaching of mutual service without that teaching of non-resistance which constitutes the key-stone of the whole teaching of the mutual life of mankind. To accept the law of mutual service without accepting the commandment of non-resistance was the same as to build an arch without securing it where it meets.

Christian people, imagining that without having accepted the commandment of non-resistance, they could arrange a life better than the pagan, continued to do not only what non-Christian nations did, but things much worse, and increasingly departed from the Christian life. The essence of Christianity owing to its incomplete acceptance became more and more concealed, and Christian nations at last attained the position in which they now are, namely, the transformation of Christian nations into inimical camps giving all their powers to arming themselves against each other, and ready at any moment to devour each other; and they have reached the position that they not only arm themselves against each other, but have also armed and are arming against themselves the non-Christian nations who hate them and have risen against them; and above all they have reached the complete repudiation not only of Christianity but of any higher law in life whatever.

In the distortion of the higher law of

mutual service and of the commandment of non-resistance given by the Christian teaching which renders this law possible—in this lies the fundamental religious cause of the impending revolution.

### V.

Not only did the Christian teaching show that vengeance, and the return of evil for evil, is disadvantageous and unreasonable since it increases the evil—it showed moreover that non-resistance to evil by violence, the bearing of every kind of violence without violently striving against it, is the only means for the attainment of that true freedom which is natural to man. The teaching showed that the moment a man enters into strife against violence he thereby deprives himself of freedom, for by admitting violence on his part toward others, he thereby admits also violence against himself, and therefore can be conquered by the violence against which he has striven; and even if he remain the victor yet entering into the sphere of external strife he is always in danger of being in the future conquered by a yet stronger violence.

This teaching showed that only that man can be free who sets as his aim the fulfilment of the higher law, common to all mankind, and for which there can be no obstacle. The teaching showed that the one means both, for the diminution of violence in the world and for the attainment of complete freedom is the submissive peaceful endurance of all violence whatsoever.

The Christian teaching proclaimed the law of the complete freedom of man, but under the necessary condition of submitting to this higher law in all its significance.

"And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."—Matt. x. 28.

Those who accepted this teaching in all its significance, obeying the higher law, were free from any other obedience. They submissively bore violence from men, but they did not obey men in things incompatible with the higher law.

Thus acted the first Christians when they were a small number among pagan nations.

They refused to obey governments in matters incompatible with the higher law which they called the law of God, they were persecuted and executed for this, but they did not obey man and were free. But when whole nations living in established state organizations supported by violence were by means of the external rite of baptism recognized as Christians, the relation of the Christians to the authorities completely altered. Government by the help of a servile priesthood inculcated into its subjects that violence and murder might be perpetrated when they were resorted to for just retribution and in defense of the oppressed and weak. Besides this, by forcing men to swear allegiance to the authorities, i. e., to vow before God that they would unreservedly fulfil all that might be commanded by the authorities, the governments reduced their subjects to such a state that people regarding themselves as Christians ceased to look upon violence and murder as forbidden. Committing violence and murder themselves they naturally submitted to the same when perpetrated upon them.

And it came to this, that Christian men, instead of the freedom proclaimed by Jesus—instead of as formerly regarding as a duty the endurance of every violence while obeying no one except God—began to understand their duties in a directly opposite sense. They began to regard as humiliating peaceful endurance—to honor and to regard as their most sacred duty obedience to the authority of governments, thus becoming slaves. Educated in these traditions they were not only unashamed of their slavery, but were proud of the power of their governments, as slaves are always proud of the greatness of their masters.

From this distortion of Christianity there has latterly developed yet a new deceit which secured the Christian nations in their oppression. This deceit consists in inculcating in a given nation—by means of a complicated organization of suffrage and representation in gov-

ernmental institutions—that by electing the one who will then with others elect this or that score of candidates unknown to him, or by directly electing their representatives, they become participators in governmental power, and that therefore in obeying the government they are but obeying themselves and so are presumably free. This deceit, it would seem, ought to have been obvious both theoretically and practically, as even with the most democratic organization and universal suffrage the people cannot express their will; they cannot express it, firstly, because there does not and cannot exist such a universal will of a nation of many millions; and secondly, because even if such a universal will of the whole people did exist a majority of votes could never express it, and they do not themselves know nor can know what they require.

And this deceit, not to mention the circumstance that the elected representatives who participate in the government, institute laws and rule the people, not with a view to their welfare, but in most cases guided only by the object of retaining their position and power amid the strife of parties. Not to mention the corruption of the nation by every kind of fraud, stultification, and bribery produced by the deceit, the deceit is especially pernicious in the voluntary slavery to which it reduces men who fall under its influence. Those fallen under the influence of this deceit imagine that in obeying the government they obey themselves, and never make up their minds to disobey the ordinances of human authority, even though the latter be contrary not only to their personal tastes, interests, and desires, but also to the higher law and to their consciences.

Yet the actions and measures of the governments of such pseudo-self-governing nations determined by the complex strife of parties and intrigues, by the strife of ambition and greed, depend as little, upon the will and desire of the whole nation as the action and measures of the most despotic governments. These men are as prisoners imagining that they are free if they have the right to vote

in the election of the jailers for the internal administrative measures in the prison.

A subject of the most despotic—Dahomeyan—government can be completely free although he may be subjected to cruel violence on the part of the authorities he has not established; but a member of a constitutional state is always a slave because, imagining that he has participated or may participate in his government, he recognizes the legality of all violence perpetrated upon him; he obeys all the orders of the authorities, so that people in constitutional states imagining that they are free, owing to this very imagination lose the idea itself of what true freedom is. Such people imagining that they are freeing themselves more and more surrender themselves into increasing slavery to their governments. Nothing demonstrates so clearly the increasing enslavement of nations as the growth, spread, and success of socialistic theories: that is the tendency toward greater and greater slavery.

Although the Russian people in this respect are placed in more advantageous conditions since hitherto they never have participated in power, and so have not yet been depraved by such participation, still the Russian people like other nations have been subjected to all the deceits of the glorification of authority, of oaths, of the prestige and greatness of the state, and of the fatherland, and they also regard it as their duty to obey the government in everything. Latterly, too, short-sighted men of Russian society have endeavored to reduce the Russian people also to that constitutional slavery in which the other European nations find themselves.

So that the chief consequence of the non-acceptance of the law of non-resistance, besides the calamity of universal armament and of war, has been the greater and greater loss of freedom for those who profess the distorted law of Jesus.

## VI.

The distortion of the teaching of Jesus with the non-acceptance of the commandment of non-resistance has brought

Christian nations to mutual enmity and to consequent calamities as well as to continually increasing slavery, and people of the Christian world are beginning to feel the weight of this slavery. This is the fundamental general cause of the approaching revolution. The particular and temporary causes owing to which this revolution is beginning at this very time, consist firstly in the insanity of growing militarism of the peoples of the Christian world as it stands revealed in the Japanese war, and secondly in the increasing state of calamity and dissatisfaction of the working people proceeding from their being deprived of their legitimate and natural right to use the land.

These two causes are common to all Christian nations, but owing to special historical conditions of the life of the Russian nation they are felt by it more acutely than by other nations and at this particular time. The misery of its position flowing from obedience to the government has become especially evident to the Russian people, not, I think, only through the dreadful insane war into which their government has drawn them, but also because the attitude of the Russian people to the ruling powers has been always different from that of European nations. The Russian people have never struggled with their rulers, and, above all, having never participated in power, have not been depraved by such participation.

The Russian people have always regarded power not as a good thing toward which it is natural for every man to strive, as the majority of European nations regard power (and as unfortunately some corrupt people of the Russian nation are already regarding it), but it has always looked upon power as an evil which man should avoid. The majority of the Russian nation have therefore always preferred to bear all kinds of physical misery proceeding from violence rather than accept the spiritual responsibility of participating in it. So that the Russian people in its majority has submitted to power, and is submitting to it, not because they cannot overthrow it as the revolutionists wish to teach

them to do, and not because they cannot attain such participation as the Liberals wish to teach them to attain, but because in their majority the Russian people have always preferred, and do prefer, submission to violence rather than strife with it or participation in it. This is how a despotic government was established and has maintained itself in Russia, that is, the simple violence of the strong and pugnacious over the weak or those not desirous of struggling.

The legend of the call of the Variags\* obviously composed after the Variags had already conquered the Slavonians fully expresses the relation of the Russian people toward power even before Christianity. "We ourselves do not wish to participate in the sins of power. If you do not regard it as a sin, come and govern us." By this same attitude toward power can be explained the submission of the Russian people to the most cruel and insane autocrats often even not Russian, from Ivan IV. down to Nicholas II.

Thus in older times did the Russian people regard power and their relation toward it. Even now the majority look upon it in the same way. It is true that, as in other states, the same deceits, by which Christian people have been unconsciously compelled not only to submit but to obey in deeds contrary to Christianity, have been perpetrated also in relation to the Russian people. But these deceits reached only the upper, corrupt layers of the people, whereas the majority have retained that view of power by which man regards it as better to bear suffering from violence than to participate in the violence.

The cause of such an attitude of the Russian people toward power consists, I think, in this: that in the Russian nation more than in other nations has been conserved true Christianity as a teaching of brotherhood, equality, humility, and love, the Christianity which sees a radical difference between submitting to vio-

\*Leaders of Scandinavian origin which are said to have been invited in 862 by the Slavonic tribes of Russia to rule over them.—(Trans.)



lence and obeying it. A true Christian may submit, he even cannot but submit without strife to every violence, but he cannot obey it, i e., recognize its lawfulness. However much governments in general, and the Russian Government in particular, have striven, and are striving, to replace this truly Christian attitude toward power by the orthodox "Christian" teaching, the Christian spirit and the distinction between "submission" to power and "obedience" continues to live in the great majority of the Russian working people.

The incompatibility between governmental coercion and Christianity has never ceased to be felt by the majority of the Russian people, and this contradiction has been especially keenly and distinctly felt by the more sensitive Christians, who did not embrace the distorted teaching of orthodoxy, by the so-called sectarians. These Christians of various denominations did not recognize the lawfulness of governmental power. From fear the majority submitted to government demands which they regarded as unlawful, while some of the minority circumvented the demands by various devices, or else fled from them.

When with the introduction of universal conscription state coercion threw, as it were, a challenge to all true Christians, demanding from every man readiness to kill, many orthodox Russian people began to understand the incompatibility of Christianity with power. At the same time non-orthodox Christians of the most various denominations began categorically to refuse to become soldiers. And although there were not many such refusals (hardly one in a thousand conscripts), still their significance was great, since these refusals—which called forth cruel executions and persecutions on the part of the government—opened the eyes no longer of sectarians only but of all

Russian people to the un-Christian demands of the government, and an enormous majority of people who previously had not thought about the contradiction between the divine and human law saw this contradiction, and among the majority of the Russian nation there began the invisible, persistent, incalculable work of the liberation of consciousness.

Such was the position of the Russian nation when the utterly unjustifiable Japanese war broke out. It is this war—coupled with the development of reading and writing, with the universal dissatisfaction, and above all with the necessity of calling out for the first time hundreds of thousands of middle-aged men dispersed over all Russia, and now torn from their families and rational labor (the reservists), for a glaringly insane and cruel purpose—this war served as the final impetus which transformed the invisible and persistent inner development into a clear consciousness of the unlawfulness and sinfulness of the government.

This consciousness has expressed itself, and is now expressing itself, in the most varied and momentous events: in the refusal of reservists to enter the army; in desertions from the army; in refusals to shoot and fight, especially in refusals to shoot at one's comrades during suppression of revolts; and above all in the continually increasing number of cases of refusal to take the oath and enter the military service. For the Russian people of our time, for the great majority of them, there has arisen in all its great significance the question as to whether it be right before God—before one's conscience—to obey the government which demands what is contrary to the Christian law.

In this question arisen among the Russian nation consists one of the causes of the great revolution which is approaching and perhaps has already begun.

## The Last Swallow.

By R. C. LEHMANN.

(From Blackwood's Magazine.)

Poor little pilgrim! Yet thou hadst not flown  
Beyond the cloudy limits of our sky.

    This narrow patch of earth  
        That saw thy birth  
Received thee when thine hour had come to die,  
Fluttering a feeble wing, forsaken and alone.

Vanished are all thy brethren of the eaves,  
Who wove each day their magic web of flight;  
    Who with their glittering wings  
        Made bright the spring's  
Fresh days of burgeon and of green delight,  
And through the summer sunshine mocked the fettered leaves.

Now all that glancing flight of birds is gone;  
And, ah, the leaves, the leaves are loosed and fall!  
    What sudden impulse stirred  
        Each startled bird?  
What clear, far-off, inevitable call  
Bugled their airy legions hence and drew them on?

Thee, for thou hadst no strength afar to roam,  
Careless they left to see the rose decay;  
    To watch the trees grow bare  
        In our chill air;  
And, when their radiant host had passed away,  
To fade a lonely exile in thy native home.

At morn we saw thee weak and faltering;  
Thy lame flight brushed the frosty spangled lawn;  
    And one, a little child,  
    In accents mild  
Whispered, "A Swallow!" as from us withdrawn  
Thy pitiful shape wore on with tired and drooping wing.

With outstretched hands the sorrowing child was fain,  
Was fain to clasp, to cherish and to save;  
    But in thy throbbing breast  
    By pain oppressed  
Freedom's keen flame still burned: thou couldst not crave  
A boon thy dauntless heart had taught thee to disdain.

But all in vain that ardent purpose flamed:  
In that last effort all thy strength was foiled;  
    For, lo, at eve we found  
    On the cold ground  
Stiff, and with all its purple bravery soiled,  
The shell wherein had beat that passionate heart untamed.

Now, as from yonder hill the evening bell  
Rings out, and the gray daylight disappears,  
    Beneath the earth we lay  
    What once was gay  
With an ethereal rapture; and the tears  
Of her who fain had saved thee are thy last farewell.



## The Founding of the New York Times.

By EDWARD B. WESLEY.

[Editor's Note.—Mr. Wesley, who is living now in Port Chester, N. Y., in the ninety-sixth year of his age, is the sole surviving founder of *The New York Times*. The following statement of the founding of the newspaper was revised by him last month in connection with the accompanying letter to the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, which was written some fifteen years ago and which he wished to publish herewith as the text for his own statement.]

To the Editor of *Harper's Weekly*:

Your paper recently had a somewhat historical sketch of the *New York Times*, which was remarkable alike for omission and distortion of facts. Perhaps it is not a matter of much consequence that a particular person is ignored when the honors are recounted of having established the *New York Times*. But something is due to the truth of history, and so with your permission a little space to review the historian.

The writer of the article in *Harper's Weekly*, at the very threshold of his work says: "The founders of the *New York Times* were Henry J. Raymond and George Jones, the former being its first editor, and the latter having been its publisher and financial manager from the day of its starting to the present time. The enterprise was due to the sagacity of these men in recognizing the field that was then open for a vigorous journal of an independent and outspoken character, and the intelligence and energy displayed in filling it." It is not pertinent to the

present purpose to ask whether the Tribune, as the writer in *Harper's Weekly* charges, was "impaired by Fourierism," when the Times was started, or whether "the Whig press of New York was upholding the policy of compromise and concession on the slavery question." It is within reasonable range, however, that the writer in *Harper's Weekly* was no nearer the truth with regard to the Tribune and the Whig press than he was in regard to the publisher and financial manager of the Times.

A tyro in New York journalism for a third of a century, could tell the writer in *Harper's Weekly* that the *New York Times* was started by Henry J. Raymond and George Jones and Edward B. Wesley. The men who start an enterprise are not always those who "found" or permanently establish it. Those who "manned" and managed the Times for ten years; who built it up on really a small amount of money; who made for the paper a prominent and permanent home, are they who founded the Times, and the truth of history requires that George Jones be left entirely out of the reckoning when the honors of founding the paper are considered.

The intention of those who started the paper was that George Jones should take charge of its business, and he did so, that is, he came to New York from Albany for that purpose, but he was taken sick, and when in health did not perhaps show any aptness for the no mean task of founding a paper, and in about six weeks from the starting of the paper Edward

B. Wesley, whose money was first contributed to keep the presses going, felt obliged to sell out his business in Albany, which was prosperous, and came to New York to save the money he had already put in the Times, and he succeeded; but after his six weeks' service in the Times office, and up to the time that Mr. Wesley sold his interest in the property to Mr. Raymond, and severed his connection with it, Mr. Jones had not a word to say in its management.

The general assertion just made, that Mr. Jones had nothing to do with the management of the paper, need not rest unsupported. Mr. Fletcher Harper, Jr., had purchased an interest in the Times in February, 1853, and became business manager of the establishment. In 1855 Mr. Jones alleged that he had purchased Mr. Harper's interest, and took the matter into court to enforce the purchase. After a full hearing of the case Judge Roosevelt said there was no cause for action, and dismissed it, remarking in his decision that "the parties themselves will see that the true course was adopted by Mr. Wesley, who cancelled his contract," that is, a contract he had with Mr. Jones to take part of the Harper stock.

In this case, reported in the Times January 23, 1856, Henry J. Raymond was examined as witness, and detailed the particulars of an interview with Mr. Fletcher Harper, senior, in the following words: "He," Mr. Harper, "said that if Mr. Wesley and myself (Raymond) wished his son to be out of the office, he had no objection, but that otherwise he would object to his leaving; I told him that I had no such wish, and that I did not think that (so far as I knew) Mr. Wesley had, repeating, that I should be sorry to have our relations interrupted; he said that was putting it on the ground of feeling and not of interest, and wanted to know if we were dissatisfied with his son's management of the business; I told him that so far as I was concerned I was not, but that my connection with the business department had not been such as to enable me to form any very correct opinion about it. I repeated that I had

never heard Mr. Wesley say anything about it."

If George Jones was the publisher and business manager why did not Mr. Raymond remark that he had not heard Mr. Jones say anything about it? But the fact was as herein stated, that Wesley was the business spirit of the Times, as Raymond was the editorial head and front and brains of it.

Mr. Harper withdrew from the establishment, and the Times of February 4, 1856, had an editorial "card" in the following words:

"Our readers have been apprised, through the Law Reports of the Daily Times, that a controversy has existed for some time past between two of its joint proprietors concerning the ownership of an interest in the establishment. That controversy has been amicably adjusted, Mr. Fletcher Harper, Jr., having disposed of his interest to Mr. E. B. Wesley, who has been connected with the proprietorship of the paper from its commencement. Mr. Harper withdraws from the concern, and the business will be hereafter conducted under the style and firm of Raymond, Wesley & Co. It is needless to add that this change will not in any way affect the editorial conduct or general management of the paper."

"The founders of the New York Times," says the writer in Harper's Weekly, "were Henry J. Raymond and George Jones." Then, Mr. Raymond, why drag in the name of a new man to place on his shoulders the responsibility laid down by Mr. Harper? The fact of the case was that Mr. Wesley, even in Mr. Harper's time, had supervision over the whole establishment, a supervision which Mr. Harper urged him to take, and for which the office paid him, he giving as much time to the establishment as he could spare from his other cares.

The Times building, in giving prominence and manifest permanence to the Times, was a circumstance of great importance to the paper. That was Mr. Wesley's individual affair; his was the idea to have the building; he built it; and when he sold out his share of the Times



newspaper, which was prosperous, dividend-paying and without debt—other than the purchase-money mortgage on the real estate, held by Henry Keep and Edward B. Wesley—to Mr. Raymond, he sold to him also his interest in the *Times* building.

The matter is too well known by the newspaper men of New York of that day to make it necessary to have much argument or many proofs to unhorse the writer in *Harper's Weekly*. The real point of the whole affair is the fact that no doubt the mendacity was born more of malice than of ignorance. The writer in *Harper's Weekly* was equalled in ignorance by a writer elsewhere, who stated that the *Times* was founded by Henry J. Raymond, George Jones and "Judge" Ruggles, the latter gentleman having occupied a desk for some months in the business office of the paper. And so from the Raymond & Jones combination, and the Raymond, Jones & Ruggles combination, it seemed desirable that the truth of history should be asserted, and that the silly falsehoods should be exposed.

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The foregoing article was prepared for publication in *Harper's Weekly* by a gentleman who was employed upon the *Times* during most of the period of which he writes. It was presented to the editor, who declined to publish it, saying it "read too much like *Ancient History*."

In the winter of 1850 and many years preceding I was engaged with N. S. Washburn (now living in the City of New York) in the Bank Note Brokerage business, in the City of Albany. George Jones had desk room in our office, attending to his own private business. After business was closed for the day Mr. Jones and myself would cross the Hudson River on the ice for the purpose of getting the New York morning papers. On several such occasions he told me that he and Henry J. Raymond, then Speaker of the Assembly at Albany, were talking about buying the *Albany Evening Journal*, of which Thurlow Weed was then the editor. Mr. Jones also on one of these occasions spoke of the profits of

the New York Tribune, which he considered large in proportion to the amount invested. He said that forty thousand dollars capital would be sufficient to establish a paper in New York City. I said to him that if he and Mr. Raymond thought well of the enterprise I would be one of four to contribute \$10,000 each to test the experiment.

A few days after this conversation with Jones he invited me to visit Mr. Raymond at his hotel with him. I did so, and the matter of establishing a newspaper in New York City was pretty fully discussed between us three at that and several subsequent interviews. Mr. Raymond was of the opinion that it would require \$100,000 at least.

Before any conclusion was arrived at between us I visited Thurlow Weed and consulted with him upon the venture. He was very confident that \$100,000 would not be sufficient, but said that he knew no other young man more capable than Henry J. Raymond to take editorial charge of such an enterprise.

At another interview with Raymond and Jones at his hotel I declined to take any interest in the scheme unless we could have a capital of \$100,000, as I had become convinced that that amount would be necessary. Mr. Raymond said he had many political friends in New York City who would no doubt subscribe an amount sufficient to make up such a capital. He proposed to give me letters of introduction to some of his friends in the city if I would go there and solicit subscriptions to the capital stock of such an enterprise. I took such letters, visited New York City—saw many of the gentlemen to whom he commended me—but did not obtain any encouragement from any of them—or any subscription.

Returning to Albany I reported to Raymond and Jones the result of my mission. Mr. Raymond then suggested that he would with Mr. Jones and myself go to New York and see what could be done. We spent the day in New York among the same gentlemen with no better result. In the afternoon of that day we visited the Harpers, and after spend-

ing some time discussing the matter with three or four of the brothers, they spoke encouragingly of the enterprise, but declined to subscribe any capital.

After leaving the Harpers I said to Mr. Jones, "We have talked so much about this newspaper business that I feel quite unwilling to give it up. If you will contribute \$20,000 to the enterprise I also will put up \$20,000," saying to him at the same time that I thought D. B. St. John and J. B. Plumb would each take \$5,000 of his subscription if he desired them to do so. It was agreed that we should incur no debts—that we would pay cash—and when the \$40,000 were expended we could withdraw without further expenditure or obligation if we chose to do so.

From the Harpers we went to the Astor House, where the whole matter was talked over again, and it was verbally agreed to go on on the \$40,000 basis. Mr. Raymond was then engaged on the *New York Courier and Inquirer*, and was talking of sailing for Europe. We said to him just before we left for our homes at Albany that when he got out to sea he should write out such a prospectus as would attract the attention of every reader in the United States.

The next we heard of him was on the 3d of July, 1851, when I received a letter from him enclosing the prospectus of our new paper. I had an engagement to visit Captain Stephen R. Roe at West Point on the 4th of July that year, and invited Mr. Jones to accompany me, which he did. On the ruins of Fort Putnam, on the anniversary of the people's Independence, we read the prospectus and thought it a fitting occasion for the consideration of a document so important to us. At our dinner it was again read in the presence of Captain Roe, and the oftener we read it the more we were charmed with it. On our return to Albany we had it printed and published in the most thorough and effective manner possible at that time.

It was understood between us that Raymond was to take editorial charge and Mr. Jones attend to the business management, leaving me entirely free to

look after my own affairs. Mr. Jones very soon after removed to New York for the purpose of entering upon such business management and starting the paper.

But almost immediately thereafter Mr. Jones was taken sick, and the management was temporarily devolved upon Jas. B. Swain, now of Sing Sing, N. Y.

About the middle of October I visited Mr. Jones in Brooklyn, where he was sick, and felt very much discouraged with the situation of our venture. I had already contributed about \$3,000 in money. I offered to withdraw and leave those remaining the benefit of my investment, but Mr. Jones would not consent to my withdrawal from the paper.

I went to the publication office and looked through the building and became still more discouraged. I met Mr. Raymond at the office—we looked the situation all over, and I said to him that there must be a change of business management or we would better shut up at once, and go no further.

I said: "I am unwilling to give the scheme up, and though I have had no experience in newspaper business, if you think well of it I will go to Albany, and if I can dispose of my interest in the business there to my partner on a fair basis I will return here within a week." I returned to Albany that night, and before noon the next day had disposed of my interest to my partner, Mr. Washburn, and before the expiration of the week I was in charge of the business department of the *New York Times*. I supposed that the work would be temporary with me, but Mr. Jones concluded that his health would not permit him to undertake the management of the business, and soon he went to Europe, leaving with me his stock to be disposed of by me for the purpose of getting an acceptable and suitable manager for the office. Some time after his departure Mr. Raymond and myself became satisfied that Mr. Fletcher Harper, Jr., was a suitable man for the post. He took part of Jones' stock, and part of my own, and was soon installed in the man-

agement—and so continued until February, 1856.

Mr. Jones called at my office in William street one day in the fall of 1855, and stated that he had purchased Mr. Harper's stock in the Times, and that if I would advance \$10,000 to make the first payment I could take twenty shares of the stock and he and Mr. Raymond would take ten shares. Mr. Harper disavowed any such agreement of sale, and a long litigation ensued. Finally I bought Mr. Harper's stock for \$50,000 cash and stopped the litigation. Mr. Harper thereupon retired from the management. It was tendered to Mr. Jones and again declined. I then took up the work again and continued in it until 1861, when I sold my entire interest to Mr. Raymond.

No other man interested in the paper spent so many hours each day in and about the business as I did during the ten years of my connection with the paper until 1861.

It will readily be realized that it was no trifling task to bring such a new enterprise to success with James Gordon Bennett, Sr., Frederick Hudson and Joseph Elliott, of the Herald, on one side, and Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana and Thomas McElrath, of the New York Tribune, on the other. And yet, when I left the management in 1861 it had been a paying enterprise for five or six years—it was paying dividends on its stock, and had become one of the recognized powers of the country.

Henry Keep and myself bought what was then (1856) known as the Brick Church property, at public sale, and sold a part of it to the Times Co., on which

was erected the old Times building. The object I had in joining Mr. Keep in this purchase was to be sure of a desirable site for the Times building.

Much of the history of the Times can be found in the comments of the New York Herald during the years 1856-7. The Herald did all it could to prevent the success of the Times, but, by mistaken policy, added much to its prosperity instead. True, during all this time Mr. Jones was a stockholder and a director, but during the ten years of my connection with the paper there were never but two meetings of the board, and the business transacted at those two meetings was of no great importance.

I cannot leave off without bearing a word of testimony to the rare character of Mr. Raymond as an editor and as a public officer, both state and national. His ability as a journalist was not excelled by any one in the country, as I believe. His affability—his politeness—and his perfect honesty in his dealings with his associates were all so much felt and observed by me that I never fail to recollect them and cherish a friendship for the man.

We have endeavored to avoid as much detail in this statement as possible, but without it it is hardly probable that the reader will comprehend the object, which is to give an accurate statement of the founding of the New York Times which, to my knowledge, has never heretofore been made. I know of only four persons now living who were connected with the paper at the commencement of its publication—James B. Swain, of Sing Sing, N. Y.; S. J. Aherm, of St. Paul, Minn.; M. Hobson, of The News, New York City, and Samuel Hart, of Philadelphia.



## American Art, as Seen in the Streets and Statues of New York.

By LOUISE KARR.

**I**T has never ceased to be a matter of interest to us to learn the opinion formed of our traits by distinguished strangers who enjoy our hospitality for a season. Doubly interesting it is, if the visitor chances to be a specialist in the particular branch on which his opinion is sought.

Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, the new Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, has shown his appreciation of our institutions by becoming a citizen of the United States, and in many ways has displayed a genuine understanding of the spirit that animates American life and civilization, which speaks alike for the liberality of his views and for the power to look beneath the immediate manifestations of our culture to the underlying facts from which those manifestations come. Therefore, when asked his opinion concerning general merit of the adornment of our streets, it was natural that his answer should not be direct.

"You are too critical," he said. "You cannot allow your work to grow naturally and spontaneously from the art sense as it develops along your own lines. A few little shoots begin to appear above the surface, and lo! the cold and caustic comment is down upon them. There is no chance for development."

Continuing in a somewhat different vein, he said in substance that some American sculptors are among the finest in the world, and that we have examples

of the highest type in our own city. That these examples are rare betokens a lack of arrangement and appreciation of our own capabilities, and, last, but not least, a lack of encouragement to the artists themselves.

"Who is there to pay for a widespread development of art in public places?" seemed to be the most prominent question in Sir Caspar's mind, as he considered the situation. In this latter, indeed, is not the salient note in our American civilization sounded? The intense individualism fostered by our institutions leads our rich men to center all the manifestations of wealth around themselves. They build private palaces and support a style of living, in which they vie with and surpass the nobility of the old world, but the public spirit which considers the adornment of the city or town of more importance than private display is lacking. Contrast our poor, cheap wooden docks, for example, with the magnificent stone structures of Antwerp, or the finished promenade extending the course of the Rhine from its source to its finish, with the neglected wildness and the mutilated Palisades of our own Hudson. There is food for thought in this, and instances will multiply in the imagination of any traveled reader.

When we come to consider the sculpture and the street arrangements of our city, we certainly have some room for pride in many individual cases. Here and there we find examples of really good, artistic sculpture, that holds one

enthralled, even in the midst of the confusion and whirl of our lives.

Again, true to our traditions, the sculpture of our city expresses, not so much the artistic sense of the community as that of the individual or individuals, who out of their inner consciousness produced the work. A very true picture of ourselves and a correct reflection of our art life hitherto may be found in a survey of the situation, in which we find ourselves in New York at the beginning of the twentieth century in the matter of our public monuments, and also the causes which produced these same sculptures which grace—or disgrace—our public highways.

In the early part of the last century, before the war of 1812, our artistic expression in sculpture, painting and notably in architecture, was derived directly from the fashion then prevalent in England, and those of our artists who had studied methods and "schools" had been trained in Europe and returned to give expression to their thought, clothing it in the language acquired in foreign study. To this time belong some of our most delightful architecture and painting, but I do not recall any decorative sculpture or statue of any moment that has been left. The famous statue of King George, which history tells us was destroyed as the British troops set sail for home, belonged to this period. So far as I know, there is no representation of it extant.

During the process of reconstruction, if I may so term the fifty years that followed, all work was done with a keen sense for the home and a true patriotism. This was undoubtedly an individual expression, but we as a people had no artistic tradition and no means of fostering the budding genius of our young sculptors. The results are lamentable. Paucity of conception and crudity of technique mark the work, and we place the statues of this period in the same category with the hair-cloth covered sofa and the antimacassar. As early as the early sixties a number of men were returned to us after study in Europe, and

we find that sculpture took on a new life.

Among the first of our good statues is the Washington of J. Q. A. Ward, placed on the steps of the Sub-Treasury building, in Wall street. A fine free figure it is, excellently composed and admirably placed. It is one of the few statues, by the way, for which we can claim the latter distinction.

It is an almost hopeless task to enumerate the artistic failures that stand as monuments to the efforts of men and women who have worked out their ideas in imperishable bronze and stone, of the great men of history, and, as it is kinder to pass them by with a nod and a smile than to assail them with invective, it may be stated that, such as they are, they are almost without exception rendered less attractive by the absence of appropriate setting than they would be if placed with more studied care for effect.

As an instance of poor arrangement in the case of one of the good works, could anything be more hopeless than the placing of the fine bronze bust of Postmaster Pierson in the entrance of the New York general postoffice? Placed at one side, under the staircase, at a height which makes its colossal size seem ill-proportioned and brobdingnagian, it is ill lighted and half obscured by the overhanging staircase, and its beauty and good workmanship are almost lost to appreciation. One is prone to say, "Another opportunity lost," for, within the great hall there is ample room for such a monument and it would have added grace and charm to a nearly hopeless structure, had it received the attention it deserves.

This is true of many of the statues of the city. The heroic Sherman at the Fifth avenue entrance to Central Park is a notable exception. This has a fine position, as fine as could be wished, and it is a pleasure to observe that a sincere attempt has been made to give the masterpiece an adequate setting. This statue, or, more properly speaking, group, is not, in the minds of some, in the best vein of that really great sculptor, Saint-Gaudens,



but it has so many merits that it is hypercritical to assail it. The Farragut of Saint-Gaudens is a greater work of art and shows the master's hand in every line. His Peter Cooper in Cooper Square teems with the personality of the original and the genius of the sculptor.

D. C. French's bust of R. H. Hunt and the attendant figures of painting and sculpture, situate in the Central Park wall opposite the Lenox Library, in Fifth avenue, near Seventy-first street, has great charm and delicacy of conceit, showing at the same time marvellous strength and virility in the portrait bust. Macmonnies's statue of Nathan Hale in the City Hall Park is a vigorous work by a man who has done much to influence our taste in sculpture, while his work on the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument in Brooklyn at the entrance to Prospect Park is very fine and splendidly decorative, although possibly the groups are a bit confused in composition. The statues on the Chamber of Commerce building of John Jay, De Witt Clinton and Alexander Hamilton, are all of exceptional merit, but crowded in so in the narrow street, that it is almost hopeless to hope discover their beauties. The pediment of the New York Stock Exchange in Broad street, by Ward, is by far the best group of figures that the city has, and it will always stand to sing the praises of the master hand.

Our parks are full of dreadful things, nightmares in bronze and stone, but fortunately, in this case, our lack of arrangement steps in to blunt the violence of the impression, as the figures are rendered less obtrusive by lack of intelligent placing. When one recalls that row of specters on the Mall in Central Park, where Shakespeare, Scott, Burns, Halleck, etc., are travestied, one is glad that Nature has been kind and that the trees are helping to hide them.

Perhaps in all these manifestations we have been more truly expressing ourselves than at first glance appears. We may have been following Sir Caspar's counsel to let our work grow spontaneously along its own lines of develop-

ment—in the first stage, a mere echoing from Europe; in the second, crude efforts to realize artistic longings without any held from tradition or inheritance; in the latest stage, the slow amalgamation of our many elements into the real American nation, with growing artistic sense, and need of expression, as well as an awakening sense of appreciation for what is good in our own work, and a power of discrimination likewise. There are many signs of the times that point toward a more complete taste, even in arrangement, and could once the tide of liberality turn the coffers of our rich men into coffers for the general good, in the way of beauty and proportion in arrangement, even the devices of modern civilization for comfort and convenience might be turned into objects of beauty, instead of the eyesores which they are at present.

Our Fine Arts Commission, one of the charter institutions of the city, has already set its seal of approval or condemnation upon many works. Our Fine Arts Federation, a body composed of intelligent men from among the sculptors, painters, architects and business men, are giving the problem of street decoration careful consideration.

What we need, perhaps more than any one thing, is more educational institutions for artistic training and more scholarships for European study. We are prone, we Americans, to feel that we can do anything we set our hands to, and that very promptly. We feel that our blood runs faster than that of other people, and we do not need so much training. We can strike out in new ways that are just as good and quicker. Alas! This fallacious argument results in much that is painful to the artistic sense. Let us hope that the future will emphasize the fact that training, study and observation are the only means, by which profitable and lasting artistic results may be obtained by the artist who has within him the indefinable spark of genius, and that in the public work of our country men will not be entrusted who are not well trained in the arts.

## The Editor's Miscellany.

**P**ROBABLY no lastingly satisfactory reply exists for the question as to whether the development of high art and the prosperity of political and social individualism may continue upward side by side. Many creative epochs in art are contemporaneous with the rise of aristocratic power and the concentration of wealth. Philistine as has been the record of much of the American striving for artistic achievement, it is largely true that Americans are progressing in the fine arts far more rapidly than the general public realizes. In sculpture, for example, the streets and open squares of our larger cities contain little of our best statuary, much of which finds its way into the interiors of the elaborate homes of men of great fortune. When a critic would inveigh against American sculpture, his usual course is to cite in contrast the streets and other public places of Rome and Florence. Envy is aroused easily in the presence of the works of art produced under the patronage of popes of the Renaissance and Ghibelline princes. Far too many of our public statues are primarily commemorative rather than purely artistic. Florence had her soldiers and statesmen and ecclesiastical personages, but none of them was chosen as the subject for the public statue to be executed from the marble block owned by the consuls of the wool weavers' guild of the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore. Eighteen feet high this block stood and for many years after its arrival from Carrara it had rested in the courtyard of the cathedral work shops. Out of this marble Michael Angelo wrought one of the immortal monuments of Florentine

sculpture—his statue of David\*. He agreed to complete the statue within two years and it was arranged that his monthly wage should be six gold florins, the conscience and opinion of the guild consuls to decide how much more upon completion—hardly a present day bargain.

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In a translation of the "Electra" of Euripides into English rhyming verse, Dr. Gilbert Murray revives the interest in the humanity of the Euripidean tragedy as compared with the evasive determinism in the work of Sophocles and the moral horror with which Aeschylus faced the matricidal problem. Apart from the tragedy itself, Dr. Murray has gone far toward realizing for exclusively English readers the inherent beauty of the lyrical portions of the play. For example, the choral ode on the death of Agamemnon may be cited:

Lo, the returns of wrong  
The wind as a changed thing  
Whispereth overhead  
Of one that of old lay dead  
In the water lapping long:  
My King, O my King!

A cry in the rafters then  
Rang, and the marble dome:  
"Mercy of God, not thou,  
Woman! To slay me now,  
After the harvests ten  
Now, at the last, come home!"

O Fate shall turn as the tide,  
Turn with a doom of tears  
For the flying heart too fond;  
A doom for the broken bond,  
She hailed him there in his pride,  
Home from the perilous years,

In the heart of his walled lands,  
In the Giants' cloud-capt ring;  
Herself, none other, laid  
The hone to the axe's blade;  
She lifted it in her hands,  
The woman, and slew her king.

\*See frontispiece.

In "London Films" William Dean Howells has made his contribution to the everincreasing library of London sketches by American men of letters. Characteristic idiosyncrasies of the Londoners are portrayed almost deferentially and in a manner pleasing to men and women in the British city itself. After indulging in some of the century-old comment of American travelers upon British weather, and comparing social conditions in London and New York, Mr. Howells endeavors to explain in a way intelligible to Americans his personal theory as to the popularity of royalty in Great Britain as follows:

"At the very top—I offer the conjecture toward the solution of the mystery which constantly bewilders the republican witness, the mystery of loyalty—is, of course, the royal family; and the rash conclusion of the American is that it is revered because it is the 'royal' family. But possibly a truer interpretation of the fact would be that it is dear and sacred to the vaster British public because it is the royal 'family.' A bachelor king could hardly dominate the English imagination like a royal husband and father, even if his being a husband and father were not one of the implications of that tacit Constitution in whose silence English power resides. With us, family has less and less to do with society, even; but with the English it has more and more to do, since the royal family is practically without political power, and not only may but must devote itself to society. It goes and comes on visits to other principalities and powers; it opens parliaments, it lays corner-stones and presides at the dedication of edifices of varied purposes; it receives deputations and listens to addresses; it holds courts and levees; it reviews regiments and fleets and assists at charity entertainments and at plays and shows of divers

sorts; it plays races; it is in constant demand for occasions requiring exalted presences for their prosperity."

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We have a gray recollection that teachers of good morals were accustomed once upon a time to glorify the union of plain living and high thinking and never to fail to decry high living and plain thinking. There are times in the life of many when it is easy to be skeptical. At such times the obviously and rampantly good has a difficult task to retain its title to esteem. Then is it most likely that one may contend that there is nothing incongruous between high living and high thinking, while plain living and plain thinking are classed as worthy of each other. Maybe the truth is that thinking and living have little effect upon each other, unless an exception be made in favor of those who delight in uncommon living and uncommon thinking. The assertion has been heard that a Hamburger steak, when eaten at Katrina's bit of transplanted Berlin, will aid in the composition of dignified essays on such subjects as the relation of fame and fortune, while beef à la mode eaten by an editor seated on a high stool before a lunch counter will banish oracular inspiration and induce to the production of book reviews and comments of the "safe and sane" variety. Certainly vegetarianism would not be suspected of an apostle of the strenuous life, and it is easy to believe that he who preaches the simple life can dine sumptuously on tomato cutlets and walnut salad. Lovers of good living are loath to concede that austere habits are best adapted to the intellectual life. Whenever a controversy becomes exalted enough to be entitled "Athanasius contra mundum," "mundum" generally loses. Until that stage is reached it is a comfortable thing to regard dining as one of the fine arts.



## In the Market Place.

**S**INCE the days of Jeremiah the prophets of evil have suffered from an unpopularity as undesirable to the prophet as to those who should profit by his warnings. Similarly the stock market bear has ever been most unpopular, even though the lying fabrications of the bull have probably cost widows and orphans more tears in a week than all the dire stories of the calamity-howlers—so-called—have to give an accounting for. But in spite of the penalty attached to pessimism, these columns must record the facts, and these appear still less roseate than they did just one month ago. Of course, no one who has any realization of the resources of this country can permanently be pessimistic regarding the future, but no one at all observing can be optimistic at times when these resources are being abused to an unheard of degree. Caution is the handmaid of wealth, and blind faith is as likely to stumble as unreasoning doubt is to go astray.

A month ago in these columns a warning was sounded against the over-confidence of success which takes too much for granted. That warning has since proved timely, for the stock market has reacted from ten to fifteen points, and while the so-called prosperity of trade is still with us, there has been a slight relaxation in several directions which may or may not grow. Should the crops this year turn out bad, a few lean years might well be expected to have set in. On the other hand, should they turn out good, then Dame Prosperity will have gotten a renewal of her lease on these premises.

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There are a great many unfavorable factors so far as the stability of existing things may be considered as favorable. Chief among them, and bound sooner or

later to affect values as well as conditions, is the insistent agitation against corporations. This has probably not been equalled since the corporation first came into existence over a century ago. In Congress, in State Legislatures, in newspapers and in magazines it seems the popular road to success to attack some corporation for fraud or to charge another with illegal practices. In corporation circles these attacks are misunderstood. There they are supposed to represent mainly the attempts of grafters to gather in their spoils. While this accusation might have held good a few years ago, and while it may be true that the resent agitation, especially that which makes its appearance in the halls of legislation has elements of graft embodied in it, yet to generalize all this opposition to corporation management under that head would be a fatal misconception of the temper of the public. Revelations in many fields of corporate management have forced the conviction that the corporations have been the debauchers of the public mind, of public morals and of public men. It is vain to talk of vested interests and the rights of corporate bodies under the law. The public court where corporations are on trial is one of equity, and little patience will be had with the accused if they try to plead the protection of the laws which they have themselves defied. They must come before the people with clean hands. The theory of vested interests is one of the most vicious ever devised by a high tribunal of justice. It is responsible for more criminal financiering, more disregard of public opinion, than any other unwritten law of the country. It has been carried too far, and corporation managers that rely on it for safety from public judgment may find their support crumble beneath them.

"*Salus populi suprema lex*" is a maxim which has been laughed at and made fun of by certain newspapers, whose attitude is dictated by financial backers, but it is a very live maxim. The only pity is that neglect by its true guardians should have delivered it into the hands of unsound and unprincipled men with political ambitions, where it remains like a loaded rifle in the hands of the Fourth of July fool.

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That public opinion is a force more powerful than even the wealth of accumulated millions has not in recent years been demonstrated more clearly than in the case of the insurance scandals. The terrible revelations which have inflamed the country began just about a year ago. At that time the various men influential in the management of the finances of the great insurance companies were at the zenith of their power. To-day they are broken in influence, in health, some of them dying, others outcasts from their native country, seeking forgetfulness abroad, and still others living in fear and trembling before the specter of possible criminal prosecution, which hovers over them while they sleep and wake.

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But while that particular class of corruptionists has been exposed and their shame has been placed in the pillory for all men to point their fingers at them, others whose field of iniquity has lain in other directions continue to offend the nation by the effrontery of their defiance. The investigation of the Pennsylvania Railroad in Congress may be primarily due at least with some of the members of Congress to that railroad's failure to grant free transportation—though the writer is inclined to doubt assertions to that effect—but the fact is that Pennsylvania Railroad interests have for years debauched the State of Pennsylvania with its clique of lobbyists. No less a man than James J. Hill, president of the Great Northern Railroad, remarked a few weeks ago:

"The Pennsylvania Railroad deserves all that it is getting. It has debauched the East for many years. It has sent mem-

bers of the Interstate Commerce Commission traveling over its lines in private cars, and has thus and by other methods secured rulings from that commission which have meant millions in increased earnings to it."

That does not fall very much behind the phrase of Senator Tillman, who has been soundly berated for calling that same company "the head devil" in the fostering of illegal practices by the railroads.

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The mere fact that issues of securities are large does not necessarily stamp them as iniquitous, otherwise the bond issues which have been announced within a week must be held indefensible. The aggregate amount equals more than \$435,000,000, and at this writing further announcements are expected. It is little wonder then that the money markets in every civilized financial center are again beginning to show signs of great strain. In New York reserves of the banks have reached the lowest point recorded at this time of the year for the last twenty-five years. Under these circumstances the rate to which money will advance for stock exchange purposes depends entirely on the willingness of Europe, especially of France, to further extend credits to us and on the extent of the liquidation which will be undertaken in the stock market. Another break of ten points in market values would not be surprising, whereupon the bargain hunter with ready cash would be able to pick up plenty of stocks at low prices.

\* \* \*

The settlement of the Heinze-Amalgamated Copper war ends one of the most picturesque battles which have been fought in recent years. Mr. Heinze, who was an unknown mining engineer a few years ago, comes out of the fracas as the undoubted victor. All that he gives up under the plan of settlement are the very mines in dispute which the Amalgamated claimed as its own when it was incorporated, but for which it pays an additional \$25,000,000 to Mr. Heinze. This would seem to be a pretty good price to get for a lawsuit. Heinze beat



the Rockefeller-Rogers-Standard Oil-National City Bank people at every point. It was the first time these men have ever been forced to admit defeat and it must be particularly galling to them, because they must realize that Heinze won only by employing the methods generally in favor at 26 Broadway—only Heinze elevated these methods to the tenth power. Had the Rogers-Rockefeller combination only dared to go beyond its usual dark and devious ways to the same extent that Heinze dared to go they must have won beyond a doubt.

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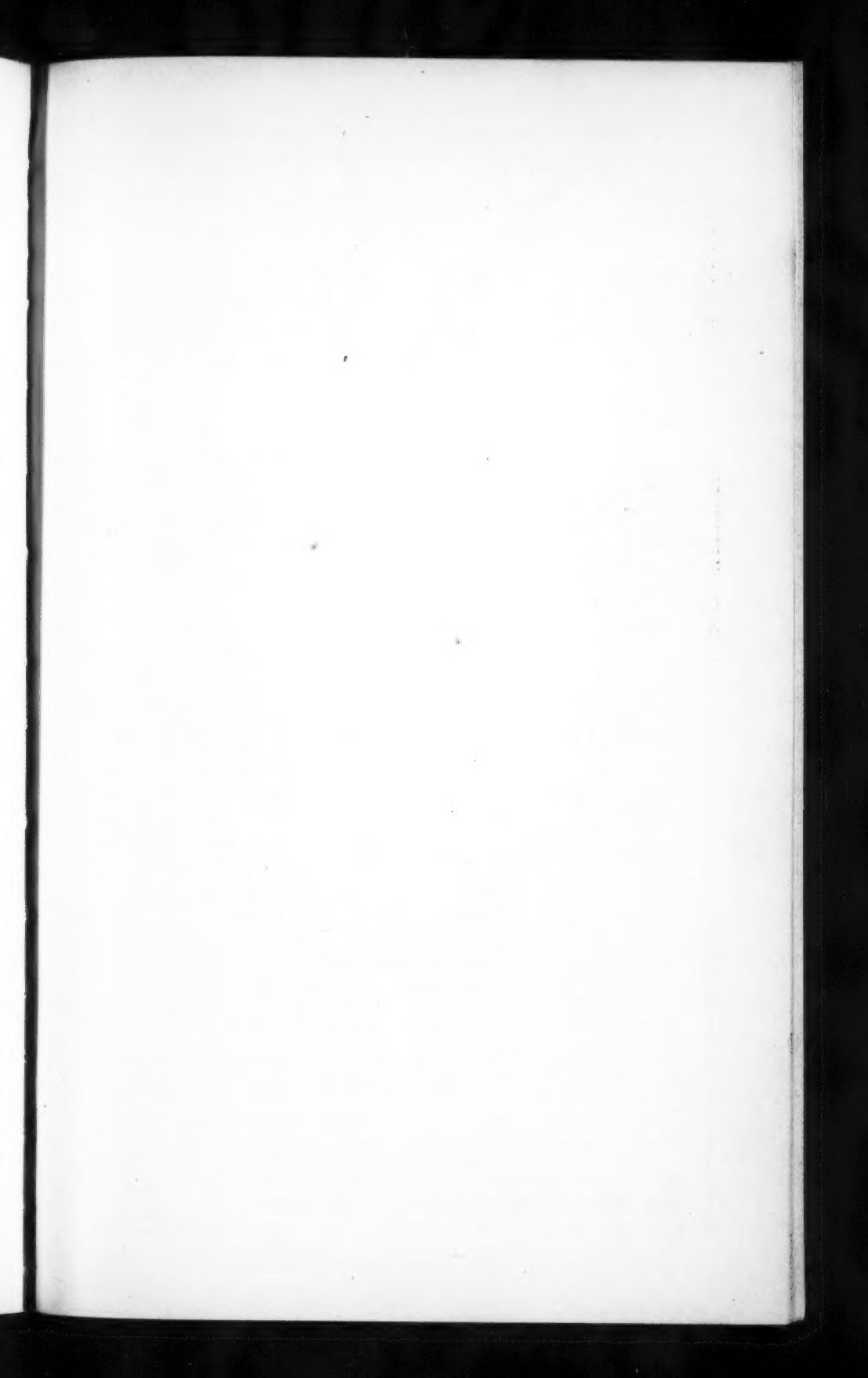
Although the exports of the United States are reaching record-breaking figures, indicating a great expansion in our foreign trade, the predictions of American supremacy in the Orient are not being made good. When the Philippines were annexed it was pointed out that a base in the far East was indispensable in order to protect the large American interests in China and Japan which were either said to be then in esse, or at least in immediate prospect of creation. Seven years have elapsed, and instead of gaining in the trade with the far East this country is falling behind, permitting others to take the lead which, according to two administrations, was to come to the merchants of our Pacific coast. So far from being the trusted friends of the Eastern peoples, we have succeeded in making ourselves cordially disliked, if not hated, by the inhabitants of most of the territory which was to be conquered by our commercial travelers. Boycotted in China, "jii jitsuied" in Japan, "bo-loed" in the Philippines, "lepered" in Hawaii—this is, indeed, a list of victories to be proud of. And if we come further west on the other side of Uncle Sam's coast we find lumps of mud, which on examination appear to be made up of Panama diggings. Santo Domingo customs, Isle of Pines dirt and Porto Rican garbage. The valet that will undertake to disinfect, deodorize and clean Uncle Sam's wardrobe will have a good job ahead of him. Commercial travelers must be presentable in dress, and until the various tariff and other blotches on

Uncle Sam's clothing shall have been removed he need not expect to be taken for a leader in international commercial fashions.

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With all these domestic disturbances confronting the home markets it is not at all surprising that the foreign difficulties should have been lost sight of. The interest in the Russian situation was maintained for so long that Americans were rather glad to discard foreign occurrences from their consideration. The developments in the Moroccan question have, however, been of a kind to compel the closer attention of American bankers. The question as to whether or not France should be permitted to patrol and police the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Fez of Morocco would seem to be a small matter for European powers to go to war over, and the best diplomatic opinion is that a war will be averted. At the same time the fact that a matter of this kind should have been permitted to reach the serious stage that it did does not reflect credit on the alleged peaceable intentions of the German Emperor. In this country he has been styled the war-lord, and it would appear as if this judgment of the caricaturist had been well founded. Germany has been trying to establish herself in Asia Minor and it may have had similar intentions with respect to Northern Africa. These ambitions have been mainly responsible for the existence of such a thing as the Moroccan question, and consequently for the disquietude and alarm of foreign security markets. While the effect on these has so far not been serious, the uncertainty over the outcome of the conference at Algeciras, following as it does on the heels of the disturbances caused by the upheavals in Russia, cannot help but adversely affect investment markets and through them the money markets of Europe. Nothing is easier than to create distrust and nothing is harder than to allay suspicion. And to such influences security markets are more susceptible than the compass to magnetic influences.

EDWARD STUART.





*J. Henry*